Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-90-033 *16 February 1990*

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Kosovo Intellectuals Write to Yugoslav Official

AU1002142190 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 10 Feb 90

["The Suppression of the Rights of the Albanian Population of Kosovo Cannot Be Concealed—Open Letter of 24 Kosovo Intellectuals Published in the Newspaper VJESNIK of Zagreb"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—The Croatian newspaper VJESNIK of February 7, carried an open letter, that 24 academicians, professors, writers, journalists, and other intellectuals from Kosovo addressed these days to the chairman of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, Ante Markovic. The letter says among others:

The Albanian people grieve over their sons and daughters, who were killed by the police shells while chanting "Democracy" and "Freedom." New wounds opened while the old wounds are not yet healed.

Further on, after pointing out that the Yugoslav premier uttered some statements recently before the Assembly of the Belgrade City and in Davos of Switzerland, in which he denounced the last weeks' manifestations of the Albanian population of Kosovo, the authors of the letter write: When the Albanians demand their legitimate rights they are called nationalists, when they demand equality they are called separatists, and when they demand democracy they are called terrorists. They are to blame for everything they do. And, while using such epithets in order to camouflage the state violence against the Albanians, you describe the whole of the Albanian people as non-democratic.

Didn't you think, the letter says, that there exist no democratic or non-democratic people, but there exist social democratic and non-democratic regimes, democratic and non-democratic governments. Nevertheless, your statements are very clearly dismissed by the present tragic position of the Albanian people, which with all the constant aims of Serbia to present it in a quite different way, is very well known to the world public opinion.

Further on the authors of the letter point out that the statements by the Yugoslav premier before the Assembly of Belgrade City and in Davos serve the anti-Albanian propaganda of Serbia, that they aim at justifying before the world public opinion the present Serbian policy, completely unjust, against the Albanian people of Kosovo. In this way, the letter stresses, it is sacrificed not only the truth on the systematic persecution of the Albanians, but also the human principle of the democratic nature of all the peoples of the world.

The letter says as well that something seen and denounced by the whole world cannot be denied: That in Yugoslavia the human rights and freedoms of the Albanian people are impaired. Isn't the police massacre executed against the innocent people who happened to be in the streets in the center of Malisevo enough to show how does the state rushes so easily on our lives, kills our youth? Is this a terror of children or state terror against children?

At the end the letter says: Our children are killed and this does not happen for the first time. They "are to blame" because they demanded democracy and freedom. Recall the history of mankind and you will see who is right: Those who demand democracy and freedom or their assassinators. Instead of offense, you might express to the Albanian people condolences. If you would not do this even in the name of the principles of democracy, do it at least in the name of reason, for which you have come at the head of the Yugoslav Government.

Foreign Ministry Rejects Yugoslav 'Accusations'

AU1302203290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Declaration" issued by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] Ill-intentioned accusations have been made by high Yugoslav personalities and important state organs, such as the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in which the Albanian-Yugoslav border is being used for the illegal transit of diversionists trained in Albania to carry out terrorist acts in Kosovo and that the Albanian internal affairs organs are allegedly financing emigration groups or individuals outside the country to incite trouble in Yugoslavia.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania categorically rejects these inventions, which prove not only a hostile stand toward Albania, but also a lack of responsibility toward domestic and international public opinion. No Albanian organ is implicated in the Kosovo events, present or past. Those events are a result of the totally mistaken and shortsighted policy of the nationalist leadership of Serbia, as are other interethnic conflicts in present-day Yugoslavia.

It is not difficult for anyone to understand that this is being done premeditatedly to divert the attention of Yugoslav and international public opinion from the savage police violence perpetrated in Kosovo, to justify the prolongation of the state of emergency in Kosovo, and generally to prevent the movement toward democracy and equality which is growing continually in Yugoslavia.

In addition, through its stories about Albania's alleged interference in the domestic affairs of the Yugoslav state, the Serbian leadership seeks to justify in the eyes of the world that large concentration of troops, tanks, aircraft, and artillery in Kosovo, which represent not only a form of pressure against the Albanian population there, but also a demonstration of force and provocation against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

A severe crime that cannot be accepted by human conscience is also represented by the demands made by some Serbian state organs for the eviction en masse of Albanians from their territories. Lists of undesirable Albanians have been compiled, reaching astronomical and absurd figures. Until now, it was being stated that about 5,000 people had resettled or had escaped from Albania in Yugoslavia since World War II. Recently, however, these figures have increased to 160,000 and even 300,000. This monstrous plan for the eviction of Albanians and the colonization of Kosovo by Serbs would cause new tragedies and unforeseeable consequences.

Belgrade's way of resolving the problems causing interethnic tensions and tensions between neighbors does not remove the difficulties arising from a bankrupt policy and the severe crisis currently afflicting Yugoslavia. A reasonable and democratic dialogue with the Albanians is the only possible way of overcoming the crisis desired by the peoples of Yugoslavia and supported by all those who wish them well.

Foto Cami Warns Against Spreading Revisionism

AU1502103290 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Report on meeting of Central Committee of Union of Working Youth of Albania: "Let Us Always Be Distinguished Fighters for the Country and Socialism"]

[Excerpts] The Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania held a meeting yesterday in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses to discuss the work done and the tasks arising in the light of the decisions of the eighth and ninth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenums and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions. [passage omitted]

The meeting was also attended by Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. [passage omitted]

After assessing the proceedings of the plenum in elaborating the tasks arising from the decisions of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, Comrade Foto Cami stressed the great importance of these decisions for the progress of socialism, the consolidation of the country's freedom and independence, the elevation of the well-being of the people, and the general emancipation of society.

What stands out in all this is the dialectical spirit, the effort to tackle the problems arising in life and to resolve them in conformity with our principles, the country's conditions, and the interests of the people. This is how our party and Comrade Enver have always acted. We cannot say that we are immune from outside influences, but the road that we have pursued in the National Liberation Struggle and in the country's socialist construction bears our own national imprint and has its own specifics and originality, thus distinguishing Albania from the countries of the East, from which it separated itself three decades ago, not having anything to do with them or with what is happening in those countries.

As our party had foreseen and warned, revisionism has led to those profound upheavals and great disasters that we are witnessing today in all the countries of the East, where rightist forces have come to power, where everything socialist is being destroyed, and where capitalism is being fully restored.

Although these events were not unexpected and did not take us by surprise, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stated at the ninth AWP plenum, "this must not induce us to become complacent nor must we rejoice. We must view this tragedy with sadness, but not with despair." We must draw lessons from it and must adopt all the necessary measures to ensure that no evil befalls our country and people.

Further on, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that what runs through the decisions of the ninth AWP plenum like a red thread is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism in order to deepen socialist democracy and raise the role of the masses in every aspect of the country's life. Elaborating this idea, he said that the party's major aim is that our people should not be mere executors, but also creative and active participants in the country's administration.

The masses must therefore be well informed about the problems, decisions, and tasks. They must know what is discussed and what decisions are adopted in the party's organs and organizations and in the state and economic organs. This must be done better than hitherto, using all possible forms and media: the press, radio, and television. This is also the purpose of having open meetings in the basic organizations. Relations with the masses must be further refined. Command methods must be relinquished and so must the practice of issuing orders and instructions. These are methods that may suit bureaucrats, careerists, and inefficient people. These must be replaced by the methods of consultation with the masses, talking things over with them, listening to their voice, and resolving problems together with them. [passage omitted]

Anti-Nuclear Plant Rally Held in Pleven

AU1502144790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Today about 100 representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] marched through the central streets of Pleven. The march was in protest against the continuing construction of the Belene Nuclear Electric Plant. Some of the participants carried placards expressing their disagreement with the construction of this national project.

The UDF appeal states as follows: If we all wish to live under a clear sky, breath unpolluted air, drink clear, pure water, and eat fruit and vegetables that have not been irradiated by isotopes, if we wish to enjoy the sun and life, we must all express our protest against the nuclear electric plant at Belene.

Lukanov Suspends Construction

AU1502201790 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—The head of the Bulgarian Government Mr. Andrey Lukanov has ordered the construction of Bulgaria's second nuclear power plant at Belene on the River Danube to be stopped.

The prime minister's decision came in the wake of a general strike today in the town of Svishtov near Belene over last week's National Assembly resolution to go ahead with the construction of the facility.

Protests against the project have been going on for several months now. The plant is being built in an earthquake-prone area under a decision taken by the Todor Zhivkov regime several years ago.

Mr. Lukanov ordered a suspension of construction work until a special government commission reports its findings back to the National Assembly.

Safety Omissions at Nuclear Plant Noted

AU1502131090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Feb 90 p 1

[Polikseniya Sarkisyan article: "Is Everything Well at the First Nuclear Power Plant?"]

[Text] The problem of the safe operation of nuclear reactors is now crucial for the development of the nuclear energy industry. Are our specialists ready to operate the existing and planned generating capacities of the nuclear plants with the necessary reliability?

The No. 5 generating unit, equipped with a type VVER-1000 reactor, has been in operation now for almost one and a half years. The same type of reactors are specified for the No. 6 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant and the second nuclear power plant at Belene. By Order RD 23-220 of the chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, dated 14 November 1989, a commission was appointed to carry out a comprehensive inspection of the operational safety of the No. 5 generating unit at Kozloduy. Here are a few extracts from the commission's conclusions concerning omissions in the operation of the No. 5 generating unit:

—Not all measures have been finally completed to ensure the safety of the installation and to increase the reliability of the equipment being monitored.

—In the logbook of defects and failures in the safety systems, the proper comments have not been entered in the column headed "Reasons for Failure," but merely the note "defect eliminated" is entered. Because of this, it is impossible to make an analysis, on the basis of which measures may be taken to increase the reliability of these systems.

—Of the 163 containers loaded with nuclear fuel and operating in the active zone of the reactor at the time of the inspection, 42 had exceeded their "use-by" date, while the service lives of a further 42 containers, according to the manufacturer's guarantees, are due to expire in October 1990.

—In the No. 5 generating unit, there is no documentation available for defining the procedure for switching off and on the interlocks and protection devices, with a clear instruction specifying who may authorize this, the persons who are entitled to carry out this work, and which interlocks and protective devices should be switched off and for how long.

—During the first nine months of 1989, 30 operational incidents took place. Of these, 16 (over 50 percent!) occurred because of mistakes by personnel, and 5 for reasons not established.

—Up to the time of the inspection, no system exists that covers all the aspects of training the cadres—from their recruitment to a report on the conduct of personnel at their workplaces. In addition, no appropriate document exists that provides regulations for this activity. The construction of the technical training center (training block) began 10 years ago and is still not complete. No modern teaching aids are available.

—The available specialists are fewer than the number required. From the start of 1989 to the time of the inspection, in certain sections of the plant up to 22 percent of the specialists left their jobs, while only three properly qualified inspector physicists are employed on the No. 5 generating unit; breaches are permitted in the technical conditions for storage of fresh fuel.

—Problems exist with organizing the group for controlling and accounting for nuclear materials. The computer system for keeping track of these materials has no system for protecting the data on which it works.

—The penalties and bonuses in relation to the indicator "insufficient production of electric energy" exert a

strong influence upon the staff's real income from their labor, therefore their efforts are mainly directed toward ensuring electric power production, while questions of safety remain secondary considerations.

Apart from the problems with the 1,000-megawatt unit already commissioned, one should also draw attention to certain economic parameters of the nuclear power plants. According to information from the Economics Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the export of spent fuel to the USSR is paid for in dollars. According to International Atomic Energy Agency estimates, the measures for preserving the reactors take 15-17 years, while the complete dismantling of the installations can take up to 50 years under extremely noxious conditions. The cost of shutting down and conserving one reactor (depending on its size) ranges from $400 million to $800 million. We lack any places for storing even slightly radioactive waste, and so far no one has thought about regulations and norms for storing spent fuel.

Protest Declaration by Nuclear Institute Staff

AU1502131190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Declaration of the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute in Kozloduy, addressed to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Committee on the Energy Industry"]

[Text] The Nuclear Energy Industry Institute was formed in 1986 as an educational establishment in the higher education system, in view of the acute need for cadres in the nuclear energy sector. Many promises were made, and plans, programs, and decrees were signed (and then forgotten). Unfortunately, up to now nothing has been carried out. Classes are being held in five classrooms. The staff turnover is immense. Many of the scientific teaching cadres, because of the absence of conditions for development and the institute's gloomy prospects under present conditions, will probably leave their posts after completing the summer semester. During all these years, the leadership of the institute has informed the interested parties at the municipal, oblast, and national levels of the serious problems, because of which they themselves have been accused of being "maximalists" and "sources of impure insinuations," with some people asking: "Who are these people who have decided to create in Kozloduy a cross between a higher education institute and an academy of sciences?" and so on.

Notwithstanding the difficult psychological climate and the primitive working conditions, the collective has carried out its obligations and will continue to do so. Recently the mood of opposition among the population in Kozloduy against the decision of the municipal people's council to hand over part of the building of the Cyril and Methodius Uniform Secondary Polytechnic School for the needs of the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute has been quite groundlessly directed against the institute as a teaching establishment. Passions came to a head on 27 December 1989, when some members of the Kozloduy public organized a rally at which, in addition to fair demands for a review of the decision by the executive committee of the municipal people's council and for the return of the newly constructed building to the students, rude and offensive words were said against the leadership of the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute.

The scientific teaching collective considers that:

—One should not overlook the (unfortunate) fact confirmed by practice that the training of the operational staff is a determining factor in ensuring the efficient and safe functioning of nuclear electric power plants. In this sense, the fate of a special teaching establishment cannot be made the subject of dilettantish decisions.

—The problems that have accumulated in attracting cadres to work at nuclear power plants are the result of the voluntaristic and short-sighted cadre policy followed over many years.

—Because of the extremely difficult psychological atmosphere and the view taken toward the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, decisive measures must at long last be taken to restore a normal teaching environment and eliminate the contradictions.

—Bearing in mind the grave situation with the provision of cadres for nuclear power stations, the collective of the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute will continue for the time being to fulfill its assumed obligations.

The declaration was adopted at a meeting of the teaching staff of the Nuclear Energy Industry Institute.

Council of Ministers Tries To Boost Agriculture

AU1602075590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The construction of the Belene Nuclear Electric Power Plant will be halted. This decision was made at today's meeting of the Council of Ministers. The future of this national project will depend on the investigation carried out by the parliamentary commission that has been formed, on the expert examination by independent Bulgarian and foreign specialists, and on the results of the discussion of this important issue by the public at large.

The members of the government today discussed certain immediate measures relating to developing individual initiative in agriculture, compensating for the rise in the prices of animal feed mixes, and improving the state of the domestic market.

Two important draft laws were discussed in detail, on the names of Bulgarian citizens and on settling collective labor disputes. The documents relating to these are to be submitted to parliament.

Bearing in mind the emerging significant changes in the Bulgarian economy and the in-depth reforms of the country's sociopolitical life, the decision adopted by the Council of Ministers today on Bulgaria joining the IMF and the International Recovery and Development Bank is of exceptional importance. According to the decision, the relevant applications are to be sent to the leaderships of the foregoing organizations.

In order to encourage private initiative in agriculture, with the aim of improving agricultural output in terms of both quantity and quality, meeting the requirements of the internal market, and providing goods for export, a Council of Ministers decree was discussed, which will be published in the press on 17 February. The decree will provide regulations for turning cultivatable plots over for private use, land with permanent plantations, animals for milk production and breeding, and agricultural and transport equipment. The formation of a joint stock bank for agricultural credits is envisioned, which will serve the private producers.

The government approved the memorandum submitted by the minister of agriculture and the food industry on compensation for the increase in the prices of animal feed mixes. In order to compensate for the additional expenditures arising from the increased prices of animal feed mixes, the prices will be adjusted [passage indistinct], thereby creating identical conditions for the production of animal products in public and private farming.

The members of the government fully discussed the state of the domestic market, which has deteriorated in recent months. The Council of Ministers decided that before the end of the month the balances of the main food and nonfood goods should be confirmed that will meet the needs of the population for the year, and that contracts should be concluded with the producers before 10 March.

It was decided to (?ensure) before 20 February that the trading organizations should stop sales of room furnishings and fittings to government departments and official buildings until the end of the year, with the exception of health-care and treatment centers and social homes.

In order not to allow any delays in the sales of essential goods on the market during the first six months of the year, it was decided to ensure the import from abroad of milk foods for babies, [words indistinct], soap, and lemons.

BCP Chief Lilov Meets Workers in Blagoevgrad

AU1602075990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], had a number of meetings with working people and representatives of the public in Blagoevgrad today.

The meetings, to a large degree, gave a picture of the public moods and attitudes to the policy of the BCP in the conditions of dynamically developing the processes of democratization.

Should party organizations exist at places of work? This was one of the main issues discussed at the [word indistinct] tobacco combine. The viewpoints of the Communists and the leadership of the enterprise that were stated to the chairman of the Supreme Party Council were that the party organizations should be disbanded. The participants in the meeting insisted on the early preparation of a draft law on political parties.

During Aleksandur Lilov's meeting at the Georgi Dimitrov Communications Equipment Works, the workers, engineers, specialists, and white-collar employees spoke with concern about a number of problems. Dissatisfaction was voiced with the imperfections of Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity, and the unfairly distributed labor remunerations. The working people spoke with particular insistence about the need to ensure the speedy recovery of agriculture. Disquiet was expressed over the so-far-fruitless talks at the national roundtable.

Fatherland Front Sets Date for Congress

AU1502210090 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—At its plenum today, the National Council of the Fatherland Front resolved to call an 11th Extraordinary Congress of the organisation on March 30 and 31, 1990.

The plenum accepted the resignation of Mr. Zhivko Zhivkov, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and elected to the post Mr. Ginyo Ganev, an independent M.P. Mr. Rumen Serbezov, secretary of the Presidium of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council, was elected deputy chairman of the National Council.

Most of the participants who took the floor expressed the conviction that the organisation with the largest membership in this country can renew, shed some encumbrances from the past and emerge as a powerful factor of socio-political life. Others, however, said that most members have lost confidence in the organisation and that resolute measures are needed to turn the Fatherland Front into an alliance of public forces which should stay above party and political bias.

It was emphasized that the organisation should focus on the vital interests of the population: retail services, public transport, housing, urban development, cultural life and health care.

New Army Educational Bodies Formed

AU1502205190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] As of 15 February, all party and Komsomol organs and organizations in the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA] have been disbanded. The political organs are also disbanded—the Main Political Administration of the BPA and its subunits in the armed services, divisions, and units.

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov is taking retirement.

An Administration for Educational Work has been formed at the Ministry of National Defense. Lieutenant General Petur Iliev has been appointed chief of this administration. Departments [otdeli] for educational work are being formed in the armed services, formations [obedineniya], and military educational establishments, while in the units, sections [otdeleniya] for educational work are being set up.

Joint commanders for educational work are being appointed in the regiments and battalions.

The main work of the new organs for educational work will be directed toward forming among the personnel a high level of patriotic awareness, feelings of national pride, a sense of duty and responsibility to the motherland, and loyalty to the Bulgarian people.

Single-Party Cabinet Negatively Viewed

AU1502153790 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 7, 12 Feb 90 p 2

[Ivan Ganev article: "Forward With BCP?"]

[Text] It really is a unique paradox—three months after 10 November 1989, after television reports convinced us that Todor Zhivkov is a guest of the Central Investigation Administration, i.e. of Sofia's Central Prison, after the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] almost unanimously relinquished its leading role, and now that no normal and seriously thinking person can dispute the fact that pluralism is an essential condition of our domestic political life, Bulgaria has a single-party Communist government.

Bulgaria is firmly proceeding with its changes in its own way, which differs from the other East European countries. Unlike them, our country is not led by a cabinet composed on a more-or-less-broad national basis. Bulgaria also holds the record in Europe in anything related to the length of the actual leading role of the Communist Party (except certain mountainous monarchies and the USSR, which because of its geographic characteristics cannot be considered a purely European state).

Is this record a positive feature?

How could one perceive the lack of a minimum of national consensus as a positive feature in a country that is on the verge of an economic disaster, in which wildcat strikes become more frequent than any bus timetable, and where the political, economic, and social factors are ever more obviously losing their individual characteristics and merge into one factor?

However, the most alarming thing in this case is the fact that because of its single-party nature and lack of a broader public base, the government can hardly be able to successfully begin to dismantle the obsolete administrative structures, especially in the areas that used to be the fortresses of command thinking and administrative management. At the same time, we are heading for elections. How is this possible—are we planning a wedding without an orchestra?

How will a single-party BCP government, albeit a transitional one, affect the BCP's authority? Undoubtedly, this fact could seriously affect the party's authority in the present unstable political and economic situation, in which a light breeze could extinguish the flame. However, let us not deceive ourselves—this fact could also strengthen the party's authority during the decisive months before the elections. This party is not the one we knew yesterday. It has the cream of the nation's intellectual-technical potential (it had the monopoly over selection, and used to select all the time, although occasionally one wonders at certain selections), and perhaps has in its reserve certain surprising and concealed moves that could expand its influence.

However, the saddest fact is that this single-party government, noting the unknown factors on the eve of the elections and the unclear situation in the balance of the present political forces, would not be able to act firmly at certain decisive moments. In other words, despite the strong personality of the prime minister and the qualities of most of the members of the government, it could hardly be a sufficiently strong government.

My private opinion, which does not oblige anyone, is that the Union of Democratic Forces could gain valuable popularity on the eve of the elections if it had agreed to participate in the government. Were its tactics not too hasty and unreasonable? I tend more to accept the position of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]—it is striving to join forces with the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS and is making moves toward the necessary compromises. However, a Union of Democratic forces with Zhelyu Zhelev in the government, and the (so-called) independent forces, with Sendov in the cabinet (it is obvious that the ministers would have been more than one for each movement), could open the eyes of many people, who would understand that lack of experience in the day-to-day operation of politics is of secondary importance.

However, I am mostly concerned with the preconditions of confrontation created by the very fact of the existence of a single-party government. Will we be able to protect ourselves from political extremism and dangerous political polarization and preserve the fragile roots of national dialogue?

Conference on Construction Problems Opens

AU1502144490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] A conference opened today in the Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Amenities in Sofia, with the participation of the leaders of construction companies and organizations from throughout the country.

After briefly analyzing the failures that had accumulated in the management of the economy and the investment process, which had led to the critical situation in this industrial sector, Minister Ivan Krustev put forward the arguments for his main views regarding a solution.

The draft resolution of the conference gives prominence to the problem of the vast volume of uncompleted construction projects, and it recommends that means should be included and provided in the construction program for this year mainly for housing, health-care and teaching establishments, and industrial facilities for light industry.

The ministry assumes an obligation to draw up by 25 February a program for a new housing policy. The construction companies must provide the materials required to build 32,000 apartments by economic initiative [po stopanski nachin]. The companies of the construction industry are charged with the task of submitting a program by 15 March for a new style in their work, which until now has failed to meet Bulgaria's construction requirements in either quantitative or qualitative terms.

The statement about the new tasks in the draft resolution begins with the expression: One must look for possibilities, for example, for providing 52 million leva for water supply projects, and 32 million leva for renewing the house-building combines, constructing a further 12 tile factories, and so on.

The conference continues.

Poll Shows Support for Socialism

AU1302143890 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Political Moods in Bulgaria Surveyed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Sociologists say that Bulgarians' political awareness and ethical notions, forcibly shaped by the totalitarian system, are best illustrated by the popular saying: "I pretend I'm working for them and they pretend they're paying me."

The idea of socialism is very much alive in Bulgarians' minds. Only one respondent in six or seven rejects it categorically. 57.7 per cent of those surveyed on their political moods say there is a future in the idea of socialism "if its true meaning is translated into reality" or if "it is resolutely updated."

The poll-takers emphasize, however, that Bulgarians do not regard socialism as a mode of production and a political system but rather as a "set of rules for distribution of wealth and as a sum total of moral expectations of the social organism."

The survey was conducted from January 15 to 20 and involved 2,675 respondents aged between 16 and 69.

Merely 11.1 per cent said they wanted a restoration of capitalism.

The pollsters conclude that deep down in their social consciousness, Bulgarians harbour the illusion that people's wills and desires can control the structure of society. "The political term for this is voluntarism," says the feature which appears in the OTECHESTVEN FRONT daily.

The scholars say that the huge price which Bulgaria has been paying for the voluntarism of the rulers will now be paid further for the deeply ingrained voluntarism of the ruled.

The survey shows that people's thinking has been depoliticised. Still, nearly half of those polled (42.8 per cent) keep believing that brutally stringent laws are needed to eradicate negative phenomena from society.

Asked whether they would risk their life for... (in a multiple-choice question), 91.7 per cent ticked the "family and relations" yes box, 87.1 per cent listed the homeland, 36.3 per cent socialism, 58.4 per cent their own convictions, and 30.3 per cent their religion.

Nearly one in two Bulgarians (43 per cent) says he or she is religious.

56.8 per cent of those polled say that the hire and exploitation of labour in Bulgaria is inadmissible. 58.8 per cent categorically disapprove of unemployment. 70.3 per cent believe that the existence of rich and poor is inadmissible.

Poll Finds 'Contradictory' Feelings on Roundtable

AU1502111690 Sofia BTA in English 1025 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—The assessements and commentaries on "the roundtable" are contradictory and different according to poll of the national research institute on professional problems the results of which are run by OTECHESTVEN FRONT. The polled are 195 economists, doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, art critics, etc.

The common thing in the attitude to this forum is the interest, which is most often described as "great", "exceptional", "mass". The interest however is permanent and changes after each one of the sessions. A decline of interest in "the roundtable" is being observed. The polled explained this with the lack of concrete agreements, prolonged sessions, ultimative declarations,

"offensive of the opposition and retreat (excuses) of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] delegates." The belief which was existing at first that "the round table" will help solve the country's problems, has gradually started to give way to mistrust and growing reservations.

Almost all of the polled social groups are of the opinion that at the moment most important for discussion and solution are the economic and social problems but they have still not been considered.

Sociologists make the conclusion that bearing in mind the common things and the nuances in the opinion of the polled, that the sessions and the participants are looked upon as struggle and claims for power. The reproaches at the BCP delegates are brought mainly to: Dodging and avoiding of awkward questions, unwillingness for compliance, lack of specificity in statements and proposals. The reproached to the opposition are: Ultimative and unreal demands, desire for privileges, struggle for absolute power.

Neither of the delegates enjoyed general approval and confidence. There are almost no "pure" and "uncritical" supporters of either one of the sides.

Among the individual participants camparatively most popular among the polled are: Zhelyu Zhelev, Elka Konstantinova, Georgi Pirinski, Petur Beron, Petur Dertliev. People are most often reserved regarding Konstantin Trenchev, Georgi Pirinski, Khristofor Subev.

The expectations and recommendations of the polled are brought mainly to specificity, competence, refusal to "outtalk" to the account of discussion of vital issues of the country: The economic and the social [sentence as received].

Commisssion Notes Abuses of Office in Lovech

AU1302142690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] A commission investigating violations of socialist legality and ethics on the part of leading cadres and Communists was set up in Lovech two months ago. Our correspondent Vaska Khristova reports some of the commission's findings:

[Begin Khristova recording] The commission, which includes representatives of the local Committee on State and People's Control, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, and Administration on State-Financial Control, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Control-Auditing Commission in the city, and NARODEN GLAS newspaper, holds meetings daily at 1600 [1400 GMT].

Protocols and materials of the plenums of the former Municipal BCP Committee, as well as tip-offs from BCP primary organizations serve as the basis for the commission's work. These materials reveal violations of legality, the BCP Statute, and Communist ethics.

In addition, the commission receives many citizens and letters daily that are an additional source of information.

According to Engineer Vasil Vitanov, chairman of the commission and of the Municipal Committee on State and People's Control, so far the commission has revealed crude violations of the instruction on distributing apartments. It has been established that 240 private and departmental apartments have deliberately been left unfinished and locked until children and grandchildren of local officials reach legal age. All this has been done against the background of 6,000 families registered as extremely needy in the municipal people's council.

In addition, illegal bonuses have been distributed for inefficient economic activity. Stipends have been unjustly awarded to students whose parents have held leading posts. There have been crude distortions in the style and methods of the work of party, state, and economic figures. Depending on the nature of these violations, the files are dispatched to the Prosecutor's Office, the Administration on State and Financial Control, and the party committees and their financial-auditing commissions.

Unfortunately, names are still not being disclosed. The citizens of Lovech are asking how long the truth will be concealed in classified files. [end recording]

Reflections on 'Isolation' From Western World

AU1302070590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 7 Feb 90 p 4

[Luko Zakhariev article: "Welcome Pope John Paul II?"]

[Excerpts] Dear readers, you will certainly be surprised at this headline: "Welcome Pope John Paul II!" No one has ever announced that the head of the Roman Catholic Church intends to visit Bulgaria, but I already welcome him in this country. In the same manner I could say: "Welcome!" to George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, and to the writer Arthur Miller.... You see, how great my wish is to put an end to the political and cultural isolationism that has caused us such great damage! [passage omitted on historical roots of Bulgarian isolation from Western civilization between the late medieval period and the 19th century]

Nevertheless, no period in our history has been so dangerous for our country's isolation as the period in which Bulgaria was engulfed in the orbit of Stalinism. All values created by our people in the spheres of culture, the arts, and politics were rejected and replaced by tedious theoretical postulates. Stalin's followers did not appreciate our national poets, such as Vazov, Yovkov, or Slaveykov, let alone the great figures of 19th century cultural life whom they considered bourgeois, decadent, and ideologically destructive. This is how the relations linking Bulgaria to European tradition in all spheres of social development were brutally severed. Freud, Sartre, Camus, Ortega y Gasset, Kafka, Joyce, and many others were considered suspect.

But let us deal with the political sphere. Over many decades, our shortsighted leaders did not invite one single Western politician to visit Bulgaria. Neither Charles de Gaulle, nor John Kennedy, nor Harold MacMillan, nor Ronald Reagan ever came to our country. In 1985, Sir Jeffrey Howe was the first British foreign secretary to visit our country in the 100-year-old history of Bulgarian-British diplomatic relations. We can imagine the political vaccuum that had existed for a whole century. Only at the beginning of 1989, Francois Mitterrand, the president of France, visited our country. As to the United States, only an assistant secretary of state was received in Bulgaria. It is true that our country is situated at the end of Europe from a geographical point of view, but our politicians saw to it that it was relegated to the end of the world from a political point of view. What is even more dangerous: We have forgotten our old ties that could play an important role in our present-day world. [passage omitted on Western politicians and public figures of the past who intervened on Bulgaria's behalf during Turkish occupation]

I would like to mention another factor. During World War I, all of Bulgaria's allies severed their relations with the United States, except Bulgaria. The United States was the only country that spoke in defense of our interests, by insisting on just treaties with Bulgaria and preventing our country from being deprived of certain territories. U.S. Ambassador Murphy (after whom a street was named in our capital) served as a mediator assisting the Bulgarian delegation in Saloniki during the negotiations for the peace treaty.

The times when we did not know whose interests we were serving are gone. While preserving our traditional relations with the East, we should not forget the existence of the West, which will be particularly useful for our future prosperity in all spheres of cultural and social development. We are being restored to the world from which we were forcibly separated and we are finally coming out of the dangerous and hopeless vicious circle of isolationism that caused us so much harm and national losses.

Pope John Paul II has toured nearly the whole world, but he has never been to Bulgaria, which is situated at the border between Europe and Asia, between Christianity and Islam. Therefore, the Roman pontiff should be invited as soon as possible. Let us not be the last country he has not yet visited. The country that is the cradle of Slavonic literacy and culture should welcome him, which would mean that Bulgaria finally has been restored to the Christian civilization from which it was forcibly severed, and that we are becoming part of progressive mankind, that this progressive mankind should become a part of ourselves. What could be more desirable?

Federation for Defending National Interests Formed

AU1402215090 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 14 (BTA)—The All-National Committee for Protection of National Interests, the Rhodope Union "Rodolyubie" and the Union of the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Societies in Bulgaria have founded a Federation for Protection of National Interests.

The announcement sent to the BTA reads that the federation unites around the idea for building a democratic society in Bulgaria. A willingness is expressed for joint work with all social movements, unions, clubs and regional organizations which back the idea of national interests' protection.

BTA's Primary BCP Organization Disbands

AU1402213890 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 14 (BTA)—Today the BTA primary BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] organization voted for its self-dismissal. The decision was taken in tune with the country's present political situation, and the agency's character of a national information institution which should have a non-party character.

Contradictions in Amendments Viewed

AU0202103790 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Ivan Rusev article: "Timid Amendment in Our Basic Law"]

[Excerpt] Unfortunately, perhaps because of lack of time, the public did not learn the names of the specific authors of the drafts on amendments and addenda to the Constitution. One does not know whether the draft was discussed and adopted amidst a stormy debate, or by an automatic consent. In any event, BTA informed us about the goals of the forthcoming amendments: freedom of economic activity, diversity of the kinds of ownership, guaranteeing the conduct of free and democratic elections, and changes in the political system.

We must admit that a timid and inconsistent "de-ideologization" of our basic law has been attempted in the spirit of the new political thinking. Thus according to Article 1, Bulgaria is a "socialist" state, but who knows why, it does not commit itself any longer to defend "socialist" achievements, an obligation it had in accordance with the former Article 3 (all quotation marks are being used only in order to draw attention to the concepts that are being used). In addition, democratism as a principle of the political system (Article 5) will no longer be "socialist," and will not be obliged to educate us any longer in a "communist" spirit, (Article 39), on the "basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology' (Article 45) and

so forth. However, at the same time, our state will continue "to develop and strengthen friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance with the USSR and the other socialist countries," such as perhaps the Polish Republic or the Hungarian Republic, or some other countries that the authors would probably like to point precisely out. By doing this they could reassure us that "one of the basic conditions" of our country's independence and comprehensive development—its belonging to "the world socialist community' (Article 12) exists, despite the fact that "the economic development as a part of the world socialist economic system" (Article 13), has been revoked.

Let us continue. The courts will no longer act on the basis of the principle of "socialist" legality, however, they will continue to defend "the social system" established by the Constitution—if in doubt, see Article 1. The simple citizens also can be calm. From now on the public organizations will constantly work for increasing their "civic" rather than "socialist" awareness (Article 10). Therefore, however, the aforementioned courts will continue to educate them in the spirit of "devotion to the cause of socialism." (Article 125, paragraph 2) [passage omitted on contradictions in defining the role of the public organizations and the essence of the economic system]

Ruse, Romanian City Sign Ecological Agreement

AU1502210790 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Ruse, February 15 (BTA)—At a meeting held here today, the city elders of Ruse, Bulgaria, and Giurgiu, Romania, reached an agreement to work together to protect the environment in the area and work for its complete regeneration. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association.

The hosts were pleased to hear the formal assurance of the Romanian guests that the chlorine plant in their city had been definitively closed down in July 1988 and that a resumption of its operation would not be allowed.

For years on end, the air over Ruse was dangerously polluted by chlorine leaked from the Romanian plant.

Pollution sources data will be made public on March 1, 1990. A uniform methodology and measuring equipment type will be specified with its help, and a system of air pollution control information will be adopted on its basis. The information will be published in Ruse and Giurgiu weekly, complete with expert comments. By the middle of the year the two sides will announce the measures which they will take to remove the pollutants from their respective territories and to ensure the ecological safety of newly built industrial projects.

Turkish Leaders, Media Criticized

AU1002203390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 29 Jan 90 p 4

[Dimitur Radkov article: "Good Neighborly Relations Are Mutually Built"]

[Text] Turkish Television recently devoted particular attention to parliamentary debates on the talks held between the Bulgarian and Turkish foreign ministers in Kuwait. Mesut Yilmaz made a statement in which he summed up the results and pointed to the atmosphere of "openness and businesslike spirit" in the dialogue with his colleague Boyko Dimitrov.

The Turkish minister of foreign affairs stressed in addressing the members of parliament that relations between the two countries are not only likely to improve as a result of the negotiations, but that opportunities and possibilities for a new stage of more active cooperation have opened as well. He welcomed the Bulgarian leadership's efforts aimed at eliminating the command-administrative system. Deputies Istemihan Talay from the Social Democratic Party, and Mustafa Kalemi from the ruling Motherland Party positively evaluated the talks. This also applies to Koksal Toptan from the True Path Party. They all expreessed optimism on the future of Bulgarian-Turkish relations. We can assert that, with Mesut Yilmaz's statement to parliament, the government of Turkey distanced itself from the pan-Turkish forces that recently intensified their efforts by forwading the question of the so-called "Turks abroad" and insisting that the talks in Kuwait are negative. Similar views are shared by several nationalistic circles in the country that do not like the overall positive results achieved at the bilateral talks. Obviously, they are somewhat confused by the policy of the Bulgarian leadership that eliminated the shortcomings related to the Turkish-speaking population in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. As a matter of fact, this was a strong argument, considering that some Turkish newspapers pointed out our country's irreversible intention of developing relations with Turkey on a stable and realistic basis and without any interference into each other's domestic affairs.

Against this background, and in total contrast with the sober voices advocating the construction of good-neighborly relations, we heard the voice of State Minister Konukman who spoke on the brilliant future prospects of Turkism, when the "Turks living abroad" shall establish a state under the Turkish flag. Despite the lively discussions in the media that were evoked by this statement and in spite of the denouncement of such pan-Turkish ambitions, the minister of state did not resign, as anyone in his place would have done, after the government to which he belongs distanced itself from this stand. Konukman simply appeared on television with a "justifying statement" that would hardly have satisfied those members of the country's public who support the idea of normalizing Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The behavior of some mass media, which are once

more trying to incite hostility and to unleash a new anti-Bulgarian campaign by pursuing the well-known subject of the "persecution" and "oppression" of the Turkish-speaking population in Bulgaria, also provokes amazement. How should we accept this approach, considering that a diplomatic dialogue was initiated between the two countries aimed at finding the best solution to the existing problems.

We are expecting another meeting between the Bulgarian and Turkish foreign ministers, which is scheduled to take place in Canada, and which is aimed at developing the positive results achieved in Kuwait. Political pressure can hardly be accepted as the most correct action of certain forces and their propaganda organizations in our southeastern neighbor country because our good-neighborly relations should be built on a mutual basis. Such relations require goodwill, a realistic approach, and joint efforts in overcoming the hostilities accumulated over the centuries for the sake of a better future and to the benefit of both our countries.

Svilengrad Checkpoint Said Improving Greek Ties

AU1302070490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Feb 90 p 6

[Nikolay Kolev report: "A Border Checkpoint of Good-Neighborly Relations"]

[Text] The Svilengrad Border Checkpoint between Bulgaria and Greece that opened a little over a year ago has created even better conditions for improving the good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two peoples. An increasing number of citizens from both countries prefer to use the services of this checkpoint. As many as 60,000 people and over 17,500 motor vehicles have passed through it so far. The customs officials are doing everything within their power to provide a prompt and polite service for the travelers. Naturally, this does not prevent Customs Inspector Kolyo Slavov from applying the rules strictly and impartially during inspections.

A large commercial center is expected to be established here in order to create even greater facilities for tourists; however, the tourists can already use some Balkatourist establishments offering coffee, soft drinks, sandwiches, souvenirs, knitwear, and other items.

Foreign Minister Dimitrov Arrives in France

AU1402163390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1o00 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov has arrived in France on a two-day official friendly visit, at the invitation of his French colleague Roland Dumas.

He has a full program of meetings and talks with French leaders, which has already begun.

Mitterrand Meets Dimitrov

AU1402194490 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 14 (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, arrived on a two-day official visit to France today at the invitation of his French counterpart Mr. Roland Dumas. The two ministers and their aides opened talks at the Quai d'Orsay.

Mr. Dimitrov was received by the president of France Mr. Francois Mitterrand. Tomorrow the Bulgarian foreign minister will be received by the French prime minister, Mr. Michel Rocard, and will confer with Mr. Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade, and with Mr. Roger Fauroux, minister of industry and territorial development. One of the principal objectives of the official visit to France by the chief Bulgarian diplomat is to discuss the future progress of bilateral business relations which have been invigorated since the first visit to Bulgaria by a French head of state last year.

Dimitrov Meets Dumas

AU1502080790 Sofia BTA in English 2238 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 14 (BTA corr)—"Your visit to Bulgaria last year created prerequisites for the opening of a new stage in relations between Bulgaria and France, but the 10 of November had to come first, so that we could say that real changes have begun," said today Mr Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgarian foreign affairs minister to French President Francois Mitterrand. He was received in the Elysee Palace by the French head of state, which was indicative of the interest in his two-day official visit which started here today.

According to Boyko Dimitrov the talk gave an expression of the interest and sympathies of the French side for the democratic changes taking place in Bulgaria. Mr Francois Mitterrand confirmed his respect for Bulgaria, which, according to him is a country with original culture and traditions. The French president expressed his conviction that thanks to the democratic changes taking place in Bulgaria she will have a due place in the construction of new Europe.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov stressed that Bulgaria is trying to contribute to the overcoming of the division of Europe, to the political, ideological and military confrontation. The return of the countries from Eastern Europe to the democratic European traditions opens opportunities for the establishment of a new European peaceful order, he said.

In relation with that President Francois Mitterrand recalled the major points in his concept for forming a European confederation.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov gave Francois Mitterand the personal regards of Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's State

Council president, and his wishes for prosperity of the French people. On his part, the French president asked Mr Boyko Dimitrov to send the president's personal regards to Bulgaria's State Council president and his best feelings for the Bulgarian people.

Boyko Dimitrov's official talks with his French counterpart Roland Dumas at whose invitation he is visiting France were the longest in time. Boyko Dimitrov spoke in detail about changes taking place in Bulgaria and made with the participation of different social forces. He said that in Bulgaria one can speak of a national consensus on the major issue: the need to make the transition to democracy in a peaceful way. In spite of the differences in the methods all agree about the need of profound reforms for taking of the country out of the crisis. This, exactly is now one of the Government's priority concerns, he said.

Mr Roland Dumas said that the changes in Bulgaria are followed with extreme interest in France. The processes in Bulgaria have their peculiarities and differ from these taking place in the other Eastern European countries. According to the leader of the French diplomacy the Bulgarian Government is constantly in the course of the events rapidly taking place in the country.

Mr Roland Dumas asked whether in future, too, Bulgaria's foreign policy will lend priority to her relations with the USSR, the CMEA member countries and the Warsaw Treaty member states. Mr Boyko Dimitrov answered that the present priorities will remain as the country has long-standing traditions in her relations with the USSR and other Eastern European states. Bulgaria, however, will not limit her relations only with these countries and will now be paying much greater attention to her relations with the other countries from Europe.

The two foreign ministers signed an agreement for opening in Sofia of a French Cultural Institute and a Bulgarian Cultural Centre in Paris. They will contribute to the better mutual knowing of each other and will organize the holding of conferences and various cultural initiatives.

After the signing Mr Roland Dumas gave an official dinner.

Dimitrov Meets Rocard

AU1502171690 Sofia BTA in English
1435 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 15 (BTA correspondent)—The dialogue between Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and his French counterpart, Mr. Roland Dumas, continued last night during the official dinner at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Attention was focused on the present conditions of cooperation on the European continent which have radically changed.

At a time when the existence of the present alliances is doubtful, we are firmly resolved to find our country's proper place in the new European structures, Minister Dimitrov said. That is why we hail and support the establishment of a new all-embracing system of security and cooperation in Europe. The Bulgarian minister recalled some specific problems of the foreign policy Bulgaria is faced with. We belong to a part of Europe which had a turbulent past. What is more, Bulgaria is one of the front-line states in Europe's southern flank where there are serious asymmetries. That is why, besides giving absolute support to any mutually acceptable solutions concerning central Europe that may be reached at the negotiations on reducing conventional arms in Europe, we insist on similar accords which would ensure security and stability in the region of the southern flank, the Bulgarian foreign minister pointed out. All European countries should benefit equally, no matter whether they are in the centre or in the periphery of the continent, he underlined.

Mr. Roland Dumas agreed that now new conditions which are favourable for cooperation are ensured in Europe. He confirmed France's particularly great interest in the changes taking place in the socialist countries.

The French minister of foreign affairs pointed out that his country highly appreciates its old cultural ties with Bulgaria. He said that there are very good prospects for the advancement of the two countries' relations in the field of the economy, too.

Bilateral economic relations are the centrepiece in the Bulgarian foreign minister's programme for today. This morning he was received by Mr. Michel Rocard, prime minister of France, with whom he had an hour's talk. Mr. Boyko Dimitrov said that Bulgaria is oriented towards the establishment of a mixed market economy by ensuring equal rights for all sectors, the private sector included. Mr. Rocard pointed out that this will make the contacts of Bulgaria with the French business circles and their market structures easier.

The problems of bilateral economic exchange will be discussed in more detail this afternoon, at the meetings of the Bulgarian foreign minister with the French ministers of foreign trade and industry.

Dimitrov News Conference

AU1502201890 Sofia BTA in English
1910 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, February 15 (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, today conferred with Mr. Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state for planning, and with Mr. Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade.

Mr. Lionel Stoleru expressed the opinion that the process of reorientation from a centrally planned to a market economy in Bulgaria should not be rushed, but there should be a transitional period of at least three or four years. He said that a market economy does not

imply giving up planning and he cited France, which has an equally strong private and public sector.

Mr. Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade and co-chairman of the Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic, Industrial and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, expressed satisfaction with the tendency of activating commercial exchanges between the two countries. He said that at the 17th session of the mixed committee, due to take place in Paris in March, France will be prepared to consider some new ideas about the promotion of its economic cooperation with Bulgaria.

Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, discussed the results of his official visit to France at a news conference at the Foreign Press Association in Paris today. He emphasized that he was very pleased with the new atmosphere in which he held his talks with the top French officials.

That brought to an end the formal part of his schedule. Mr. Boyko Dimitrov will leave for Bulgaria tomorrow morning.

South Korean Businessmen Discuss Links

AU1502180190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The business contacts established in recent months between Bulgaria and South Korea may be a good harbinger for the possible establishment of diplomatic relations as well. The visit to Bulgaria of a group of South Korean businessmen provides a contribution to this positive process.

They held two days of talks with the Ministry of Industry and Technologies, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and individual companies. The talks focused on the issue of industrial production sharing as a promising form for mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of equal rights.

It was emphasized that possibilities are emerging for joint production of domestic electronic products, agricultural equipment, and consumer goods, and in vehicle manufacture. Both sides also see good prospects for cooperation in the field of manufacturing equipment for the communications and textile industries, and for ocean fishing.

Today the South Korean businessmen departed from the country.

Human Rights Federation Sends Delegation

AU0802212390 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 8 Feb 90

["On Human Rights Problems"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—Ms. Jerry Labor, director of the Helsinki Watch Committee in New York and vice-president of the International Helsinki Federation of Human Rights, and the assistant of the committee, Mr. Theodor Zang, a lawyer, are paying a visit to Bulgaria as guests of the Bulgarian Human Rights Committee.

At a meeting the two sides discussed some problems of the democratization and human rights in Bulgaria, the election system, the status of the political parties, the situation with the Muslim and Turkish-speaking population, etc.

The guests had a meeting with Prof. Boris Spasov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and deputy chairman of the National Assembly Legislative Committee, at which the problems of the constitutional structure and the legislative reform in Bulgaria were discussed.

Today the delegation was received by Mr. Rumen Serbezov, chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Parliamentary Group at the National Assembly. He familiarized the guests with the attitude of the BCP to the other parties and opposition movements in the country.

Experts Meet; Troop Withdrawal To Begin 26 Feb

LD1502195190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Today a working group of Czechoslovak and Soviet experts held talks on military, technical, and organizational questions of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovak territory.

The Soviet troops will begin to withdraw from our territory beginning 26 February this year, and the first phase of the withdrawal of the substantial part of troops will be concluded by 31 May 1990.

A commission for a practical implementation of the troop withdrawal begins its work tomorrow.

The Soviet side undertook at the same time to reduce the intensity of the military training, and convoys to military exercise areas will take place only when approved by national committees.

Talks on the final text of the agreement on the troop withdrawal continue.

Gen Slimak Briefs Deputies on Troop Departure

LD1502211890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Summary] General Slimak today briefed deputies of the Defense and Security Committees on the departure of Soviet troops. The current delay in the departure has no military or political reasons, only social and technical ones. Sixteen thousand families of Soviet soldiers and civilian employees live in Czechoslovakia, including 13,000 schoolchildren. Seventy percent of these families have no flats available in the USSR. Moreover, in view of the capacity of railway transport, departure of Soviet troops cannot be finished by the end of the year. According to a preliminary agreement, 30 to 50 percent of the main types of military equipment should leave Czechoslovakia by 30 May, and 35 percent of the personnel. The earliest departure should commence at the end of February, first from the area of Bruntal.

Premier, Ministers Meet Trade Unionists

LD1502162590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 15 feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Federal Premier Marian Calfa and ministers Valtr Komarek, Vaclav Klaus, and Petr Miller met in Prague today with representatives of trade union associations from throughout Czechoslovakia. The premier first briefed those present on the government stance on current economic and social questions. We will acquaint you with this major speech in our afternoon broadcasts. A short time ago Miroslav Ditrich returned from this meeting. Miroslav, what was the meeting with trade union representatives like?

[Ditrich] At the start they were asking about specific problems of the branches or spheres they represent. For example, about means allocated to the health service, telecommunications, and so on.

Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus said that spending on health care would increase by almost 10 percent, while he envisaged national income growth will be only about 1.7 percent this year. The health services would naturally need more, but the state simply cannot afford it. Vaclav Klaus, addressing other trade union associations, repeated several times that individual branches or spheres cannot demand increased allocations from the state budget. We cannot afford this, but taxes and levies in the enterprise sphere will not be increased this year.

I, and others too, are interested in the relations between the new trade unions and the government.

[Ditrich] There was, for example, a demand put forward for the trade unions to have the right to veto government decisions. To this Minister Petr Miller replied that the government would want the trade unions to be both opposition and a partner for the government, but he personally would insist that they do not have the right to veto government decisions.

Trade unionists reminded Minister Miller that they also have other means to express their dissatisfaction—strikes, for example.

Calfa Outlines Economic Aims to Trade Unionists

LD1502171590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1315 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Speech by Premier Marian Calfa at a meeting between government ministers and representatives of newly founded and planned federal and republican trade union associations in Prague on 15 February—recorded]

[Text] It is natural that in revolutionary times, when a new order of things is being born, uncertainty is being aroused in many people. I do not now refer to political uncertainty, but social uncertainty, which concerns directly the social function of trade unions. We know that a large percent of the population is voicing concern about wages, prices, work, and other social certainties. This is why I would like to brief you on the government's main plans in the socioeconomic sphere, and thus to contribute to general understanding.

As you all know, the government has a time-limited mandate. Its main function is to ensure free elections and to launch the transition to a market economy. The second task is an exceptionally responsible one. It puts great moral duties on constitutional representatives and the apparatus because, with great responsibility, regardless of our futures personally after the elections, we all must act in such a way that we can, for the next few months, contribute as much as possible to the creation of new economic structures which can, naturally, mature only in a longer period of time.

Concerning the sorry state of the Czechoslovak economy when the government took over, you have heard from someone who is most qualified in the speech of President Vaclav Havel at the beginning of the year. The political totalitarian system and its central-directive system of management have managed to erase our country from the list of economically advanced states. We have fallen so low down this list that practically no one has any economic interest in us. The per kilo prices for which we sell machinery or consumer goods on the international market are only, on average, one-third or one-quarter of the prices for which the competition is selling. The technical standard of the majority of our products and production equipment lag behind the world by five to 15 years, even if compared with such states as Ireland and Spain.

We are one of the biggest producers of steel per capita, but there is, however, a shortage of cars and even nails on the domestic market. According to State Planning Commission calculations, we have in our country and abroad projects under construction for extracting and processing coal, raw material, and power worth thousands of millions [figure as heard]. At the same time, investments into transport, communication, water and other networks, and the housing stock have for decades been neglected. We need investments amounting to hundreds of thousands of millions of korunas.

It is difficult to estimate the neglect of some of the world's unique historical monuments. The worst situation is in the neglect of investment into promising productions. It is difficult to put a figure on the cost of regenerating the devasted environment. (?They amount to thousands of millions). All this has to be not only a warning to us, but also a lesson, and above all an urgent appeal. Together, these problems represent a sum corresponding to at least two-thirds of our annual national income. From this it is obvious that we will have to be repaying this for a long time. The repayment is not a matter of government good will, but above all the renewal of high dynamics of the growth of the economy. We can, and we must utilize for this the considerable reserves at our disposal in the form of vast and excessive stocks, must better utilize the capacities of our processing industry and the thousands of millions from the frozen nonexpedient foreign claims. For example, in various forms of unfinished projects we are (?owed) today more 400 billion korunas. For the period up to the elections I see the basic task being the stabilization of the starting-point situation so that we can make the transition to the market economy.

Both the government and the professional public are clarifying their views. However, today we must lean with confidence on reliable foreign experience. The well-tested principles of government policy in the process of modernizing the economy include the struggle against inflation, the provision of a healthy currency—including a firm exchange rate between the crown and freely convertible currencies—the reduction of expenditure, the surplus state budget and, of course, the preservation of a manageable degree of foreign debt. The rest depends on our own work alone.

If we manage to meet these undertakings, social guarantees in this country will not be markedly threatened. Although we will not be able to raise our general standard of living immediately or make a radical turn toward improving the quality of the environment, there is no reason to contemplate a further deterioration. This change in the trends which have prevailed until now can itself be considered as a very positive one, even though we are only talking the first step toward a definite upturn in the overall quality of our life.

How can we reach this target? Here we often talk about sacrifices which will have to be made. In this connection I would like to tell you how we intend to proceed. There exists a general consensus that the transition to a market economy requires demonopolization, competition, freeing of prices, the elimination of subsidies and a convertible crown, to mention at least the main points. However, we must give careful consideration to our choice of strategy and the pace of this transition. Some government officials have stressed on several occasions that we are not contemplating any instant shock action, such as an instant scrapping of all subsidies or a freeing of prices. The consequences of these actions would undoubtedly be high unemployment and price rises, which would evoke retaliatory pressures on wage increases and social expenditure. This procedure is linked with the risk of steep and uncontrollable inflation and considerable social unrest in our society as a whole.

On the other hand, the government is not wasting time and is not shifting into a distant future the measures which mark the introduction of a market economy. I think that this is also documented by the government's rich legislative activity and by the creation of legal prerequisites to enable a true functioning of the market in our country. The principle aim of our policy is that the requirements for introducing overall economies and a healthy balance are targeted not against the population, but against the production and nonproduction sphere.

The national economy is not just an indefinite grey mass. There are good enterprises but the people working in them have so far not had much benefit from their improved work. On the other hand there are also weak and bad enterprises, which have in various ways jumped on the bandwagon and which are enjoying no worse conditions than the others. They too, are a part of our unfortunate economic situation. By saying this I, of course, do not intend to reduce the degree of blame of the inefficient central administration.

I peronally see the building of a demanding competitive envirnoment, along with which goes the demonopolization of supplies which will be put on equal footing with the consumers who were powerless before, as the only traverseable path. However, afterward, those who do not produce good quality goods or the required output, those

who cannot produce and market their goods without losses, they will, of course, unavoidably encounter difficulties. It is precisely those people who will have to make the sacrifices. This will mean, in the first place, that to work more effectively they must get on the top of this situation and adapt themselves to the new and greater demands of the functioning market. In this respect we count on the fact that the main material criterion of the degree of success of the enterprises and production plants will be their ability to sell with profit on advanced markets.

Whoever does not manage to do this will threaten his own future, and let us admit this, his working collective or at least some of its workers too. If he cannot come to terms with the situation on time and change into a prosperous enterprise then, as we say, he is out. We cannot exclude even his bankruptcy or the end of his business.

Naturally, our state can to a certain extent and for a certain time assist some enterprise and plans to do this. Its abilities are and will no doubt be limited. It is emerging as more advantageous for society to help the better ones to a richer life then to keep on giving help to outsiders.

As we want as the basis of our concept of transition to a market economy [word indistinct] (?state) toward production enterprises, then we have to create scope for their favorable reaction.

The government has pledged to submit a new draft state budget by 31 March. The key task of the immediate future is to adopt measures which will introduce an anti-inflationary situation in the economy.

First, we want to reduce considerably expenditure on defense, on security, on the state administration and on the social organizations affiliated to the National Front. Similarly, we have to speak decisively also of other subsidies which burden the budget and distort the information about the true cost of production. Some expenditure on social consumption—above all the health services and education—are a clear priority. However, not even these spheres can get everything they need because meeting their needs has to be in harmony with our, so far falling, economic output. The preparation of the state budget is proceeding very reasonably and we can expect the effort to be crowned with increased financial discipline. We know that those things left out of the budget will not be accepted without objections. These are always very sensitive questions and this is even true when the issue is not so significant. For example even the contributions to the work of radio and television have to be reduced. Here too, it will be necessary to strengthen elements of economic self-sufficiency.

What does the situation on the starting line look like now? Above all, there is a certain disquiet growing in enterprises, evoked either by political or economic causes. This has, naturally, begun to reflect unfavorably in the economy. This is shown by the bad results achieved in the past two months. Thus, in December last year industrial production dropped considerably compared with the same period the previous year and this year in January by an additional four percent. However, some of the main causes of this are problems in converting arms production, and the well known reduction in oil supplies to our petrochemical industry.

Despite good climatic conditions, the output of the building industry has dropped—especially in housing construction—by almost seven percent in December. There has also been a reduction in the loading productivity and performance of the railway freight transport and the railway has become insolvent. Thus we have embarked on the policy of budget and currency stabilization. At the same time we have taken steps aiming at calming and consolidating the situation in enterprises. Here we will not and must not avoid operative contacts between central organs and enterprises, both with the management and working collectives and their representatives.

We must fully support the authority of the most professional senior officials in enterprises and not admit to short-term social demagogy which, even with the vision of immediate profits of individuals or groups, threatens the future of all society. Let us not allow our economy to fall apart in front of our eyes in the whirlwind of political passion or even, in some cases, in settling personal accounts. I am speaking quite openly. I fully understand the requirement to break various mafias of interconnected political, economic and trade union structures of the past. One has to see, however, that in every society there is a limited number of experts who are able, at the appropriate level, to manage economic units, whether in industry, agriculture or services.

Ill-considered requirements to replace these experts at all costs, even changes which follow one another quickly, can break the most precious thing our peoples have at the moment—the determination of management and intelligentsia in general to consistently implement new democratic policy in the conditions of a market economy. Lasting existential insecurity, the constant threat of being recalled from one's post without the possibility of protection, cannot lead to anything but the destabilization of the economy, which will be felt in its consequences, above all, by labor collectives and, in the end, by all of us, in the form of lower wages, goods shortages, and lower harvest yields.

We must put our trust in the people's high moral standards and expertise and let them make independent decisions, regardless of their political affiliation or religious denomination. The appropriate federal government ministers have been instructed to help solve problems in enterprises in this spirit. True, they cannot undertake responsibility for their management, but it is their task to help on the spot to stabilize management employees and to select the best people, to explain the economic conditions which are valid as of this year, to settle relations between the supplier and consumer, to

clarify the program of production and the possibility of mutual transfers in the interests of better utilizing capacities, to solve organizational issues at enterprises, their management, and representative organs of the working people, as well as other problems which have been raised. However, what they will not be able to promise is guaranteed direct help from the government in the form of subsidies, taxation reliefs, or the supply of free currency. Enterprises which would justify these additional needs do not exist in our country. The government must undertake many unavoidable actions, aimed at starting the above-mentioned demonopolization and commencing entrepreneurial activity in general. That is why we envisage amendments to a number of fundamental norms.

The bill on individual enterprise is being worked out, rapidly and with the active participation of the interested public. Its implementation can relatively easily contribute toward improving the situation, above all in the spheres of services and trade. Likewise, bills on joint stock companies are being prepared, and on enterprises with the participation of foreign ownership, which will make possible the birth of viable industrial enterprises, as well as access to foreign capital. The greatest difficulties concern amendments to the bill on state enterprises, inasmuch as what is concerned is the creation of legal amendments which will enable state enterprises today to function in various forms until the form of their final ownership is decided upon. This includes the need to abolish some self-adminstration organs.

Another law is being prepared which will prevent monopolies and will protect the consumer. However, the government does not intend to embark upon reorganization from above, but only intends to make it possible from below, according to the needs of production. Out of the existing excessively large enterprises, new smaller and more flexible state enterprises will emerge, which, in substantiated cases, may be transformed to joint stock companies and, moreover, new efficient forms of association whereever it will pay, will be made possible, above all, where our independent enterprises are not capable of facing competition from powerful international companies.

It is a general requirement to unify the economic conditions in which the individual enterprises, organizations, as well as private entrepreneurs, will be working. I have in mind not only the principles and rates of taxation, but also those of price and foreign currency regime. Otherwise, the conditions of enterprise and development will not be equal. We do not want to set up privileged or disadvantaged groups. This would be bad for everyone in the end. That is why we will have to give a good deal of thought to these fundamental issues so that we can minimize the risks of possible additional corrections.

So-called privatization is talked about much today. Therefore I want to say something about this issue. It is definitely not going to be an immediate process. It is such a complicated affair that we are only starting to discuss it in concrete terms. I can promise that it definitely will not mean that property will be returned in general to its former owners or that national wealth will be sold to foreign capital.

What will be the position of our working people in this situation? First, we would like to make a thorough differentiation between two social tasks by our citizens who are economically active. Let me formulate a creed for our effort: We want to increase demands on a man as a producer in order to be of more help to a man as a consumer. It is obvious that in specific cases, in connection with the changes in the structure of production, a certain impact on people as producers cannot be excluded. However, we envisage that with a coordinated joint effort we will be able to limit undesirable phenomena such as unemployment or income reduction to a minimum and to compensate for the losses which working people might suffer. The measures which have already been adopted or are being prepared aim at this.

We envisage that the policy of the state bank will be made more strict. If we are unable to produce more we cannot allow into circulation more unsecured money which would only increase demand which is already unsecured and would incite inflation. The main thing is to stabilize the overall level of wholesale and purchase prices which already give quite a good profit to producers; increasing them would only increase unearned profit for producers and trade. However, this principle does not exclude, but on the contrary pressuposes the possibility of inevitable changes in specific prices where it will serve a purpose. We envisage that we will not only increase prices in production but also reduce them when it is appropriate.

Naturally, we do not envisage a significant increase in our foreign debt. We will borrow only when we have the certainty of unquestionable free currency returnability on the loan.

With regard to retail prices I will mention the most important principles. We all know that there is some inflation in our country, including the so-called hidden increase in prices. We assess it at three to four percent annually. If we are unable to reduce it we will try to prevent its increase. We think that existing conditions make it possible to adopt this pledge.

However, it must be emphasized that a proper market function will demand in the future the removal of significant distortions in current retail prices. It will become inevitable to remove price subsidies which we provide today primarily for basic foodstuff, state housing rents, railway and municipal passenger transport and also for some building material, coal and heat supply. This will in the long run lead necessarily to an increase in retail prices which we will try to compensate for at the same time either by relevant price reductions in other basic types of goods or by supplements to economically weaker strata.

To sum up, I can say that the government is not preparing and is not going to announce any program of increases or substantial amendments to retail prices in this half of the year. We naturally do not exclude partial changes in the cases where so-called free prices have been allowed.

The government emphasizes with greatest urgency that no demand for wage increases or a substantial improvement in social conditions, such as the reduction of the age limit for retirement, can be fulfilled at the moment. We simply cannot afford it. We have no hidden resources which would make it possible to satisfy immediately even all the justified demands.

Our only resource to secure the greater well-being of all of us is hard work. I know that I am saying something that all of us have heard many times. I know that often hard work has not led to a better life because bad managerial systems and absurd conceptions have inhibited in advance any opportunity to achieve affluence.

Today we are opening space for democracy and the application of democratic laws. Today our path is aiming at the increase of the living standard but only under the condition that we will jointly assess which demands are justified, which of these demands need which prerequisite, which demand can be satisfied today and which can only be satisfied tomorrow, and what is only common speculation aimed at gaining profit from the immaturity and youth of our democratic regime.

Trade Union Movement Adopts Position on Elections

LD1302040990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] At today's session in Prague, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Action Committee adopted a standpoint on the preparation for elections to representative bodies. At the moment the union organization has a significant representation of deputies proposed by the trade unions in all representative organs. The law on political parties and the election law, which is being prepared, have not considered this possibility so far. The possibility of acting through deputies who are members of political parties, according to the report from the Revolutionary Tradé Union Movement Action Committee session, is in fundamental conflict with the principle of trade unions' independence.

New Minister Stracak Details Plans for Industry

LD1402215490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Machine-building, and Electrotechnology controls the largest section of Czechoslovak industry. Recently, however, we did not hear about it much; there was a calm before the storm. Nevertheless, events are moving there. In the last few days there was a personnel change in the leadership of the ministry.

The newly appointed minister of machine-building, metallurgy, and electrotechnology is Slavomir Stracak. We asked him about his plans:

[Begin Stracak recording] We want to create conditions for enterprises that would enable them to change from the command method of management to the market mechanism. We control different industries with different needs. In metallurgy attenuation programs are being discussed. Machine-building industry needs to improve its standard to be able to stand up to European and world market competition and problems in electrotechnology are obvious. There are many problems. We shall concentrate on creating conditions for enterprises to carry out enterpreneurial activity and to be able to develop into good partners in the European market and make the best possible use of the open door into Europe.

In metallurgy we see the need to carry out some restructuring, whether with regard to the immediate or long-term future. We want to reduce its demands for energy, we want to improve the scale of production, and we want to reduce steel production to save energy. The machine-building industry has to cope with a changeover from the production of arms to the producton of non-military products. This might create some technical and social problems at some places in Slovakia. In electrotechnology we would like to concentrate on producing electronic equipment for machinery and so on. [end recording]

Czech Statement on Management Prompts Discussion

LD1502154290 Prague CTK in English 1358 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—The aim of extensive changes in society, calling forth the need to replace also managers and executives, must be to reach a state when specialists at the right place will be capable of leading the economy out of crisis and ensuring prosperity through applying principles of market economy, the Czech Government stressed in a statement, carried by Thursday's Czech newspapers.

The statement noted, however, that cases occur when these changes are made spontaneously, subjectively and not quite democratically. Managers and executives who in the past proved their managing and organizing skills, high professionality and moral credit are being relieved of their posts.

The government therefore appealed to the founders of state enterprises as well as work teams to see to it that all the necessary changes in the management structure take place within the limits of the law and with all possibilities offered by the law on state enterprises where the situation is most critical ask the workteam councils to

call an assembly or an assembly of delegates, which can elect new councils in a democratic way and decide changes in the posts of directors. The government also recommended that a similar procedure be used in the sphere of cooperatives.

In choosing candidates for the post of directors, enterprise founders should use either the way of competition or reach agreement at round-table talks. The government stressed the need to find solutions guaranteeing a smooth working of the economy even at the cost of compromises. It is of the opinion that the changes in the management structures should be finished by the end of March.

These issues were discussed also at Thursday's press conference of the Civic Forum in Prague. It was stressed there that the government regulations are aimed at stabilizing the situation in production and not allowing the spread of feelings of uncertainty among executives. The Civic Forum considers this very important since Czechoslovakia's economy can be reformed if it does not collapse. Chaos cannot be reformed. All this gave impetus to a letter handed by representatives of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence coordinating committees to President Vaclav Havel on Tuesday.

The task of civic forums at workplaces is to reorganize works committees of the trade union movement as they were usually elected in an undemocratic way, to reconstruct workers' councils of assemblies of workers, to press for their release, suggest candidates or a competition to fill vacant posts. If the forum fulfils these tasks it can fuse with the strike committee or trade union committee. It can naturally become a guarantee for the case of a crisis. A counter-weight to a large number of communists in the management, after the free elections civic forums are expected to end their activities at workplaces.

Labor Councils Establish Representative Committee

AU1502131790 Prague PRACE in Czech 9 Feb 90 p 2

["rh"-signed report: "Another Union in the Offing"]

[Text] Bratislava— A nationwide consultative meeting of representatives of labor collectives' councils was held in Bratislava yesterday. The main points on the agenda were a discussion on the amendment to the enterprise law and the establishment of a preparatory committee for the founding of the Union of Self-Managed Enterprises [Svaz samospravnych podniku]. The discussion about the amendment was stormy, with many speakers demanding a clear rejection of the wording of the law under preparation. The discussion revealed that the question of the founder of enterprises constitutes the biggest problem. In order to have their comments and demands correctly formulated and presented to the federal bodies of state administration, the representatives of labor collectives' councils elected a preparatory committee responsible for the founding of the Union of Self-Managed Enterprises, which represents these enterprises, monitors their internal economic conditions, and enforces their legitimate interests and demands. In the future, the union should provide a whole range of specialist services, such as provision of consultancy, information, and training. The Union of Self-Managed Enterprises will operate as a voluntary and independent special interest organization and will be active throughout the territory of Czechoslovakia. It will associate economic organizations whose assets are exclusively or predominantly national property and in which there operate working people's self-management bodies provided with variously defined legal powers.

Tripartite Chamber of Commerce Founded

AU1402134090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Collective Chamber of Commerce"]

[Text] Brussels—A Belgian-Luxembourg-Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce was founded in Brussels 8 February. Its main aim is to assist in the development of commercial and economic relations between the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union and Czechoslovakia. Rudolf Kremer, a Belgian citizen of Czech origin, was appointed as the Chamber's chairman and Prince Christian de Lobkowicz was appointed as its general secretary.

8 Feb Government Session Tackles Various Issues

AU1502125790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "A Wide Range of Issues Under Consideration; The CSSR Government Held a Session"]

[Text] Prague— At its meeting yesterday, the Federal Government adopted a new measure in connection with the Czechoslovak energy system—the announcement of energy consumption restrictions on environmental grounds. Under this measure, power stations fuelled by brown coal will either have to flexibly reduce their output or be partially shut down at times of aggravated atmospheric dispersal conditions. At the same time, the ecologically motivated restrictions should not affect supplies of heat and light to households.

In the first part of its session, the CSSR Government decided to set up a working group to deal with the economic and environmental consequences of the presence and departure of Soviet troops from the CSSR.

Furthermore, the government discussed Czechoslovak proposals for reforming cooperation within the framework of CEMA. In this connection, it considered proposals that have been submitted to it concerning the [upcoming] session of the group for amending the CEMA Statute and reforming the economic mechanism of cooperation among member states of the council.

As a first step toward establishing a financial market in the long term, the government discussed the draft principles concerning the use of debenture bonds to finance the development needs of organizations. In the first stage, the issuance of debenture bonds will be implemented in the form of an experiment. Bonds will be issued by economic organizations, banks, and savings banks and both Czechoslovak organizations and citizens will be able to purchase them.

The draft of a partial amendment to the aviation law pursues the aim of demonopolizing air transportation and aviation-related services.

The government approved principles concerning a temporary alteration to the economic commitments laid down in Article 295, Paragraph 2 of the Economic Code, which affect supplying organizations administered by the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry and the republican ministries of construction and the building industry. The alteration involves a limitation of penalties imposed for mistakes in the fulfillment of capital investment plans to a maximum of 15,000 korunas for each justified customer claim. The temporary alteration will remain in force until 31 December 1994.

The government decided on the immediate start of talks in connection with the CSSR's joining the CEN and CENELEC [expansions unknown] organizations for standardization, as a first specific step toward overcoming technical barriers which stand in the way of trade with advanced industrial countries.

The government discussed and approved the CSSR's joining the European Agreement on International Railway Routes (the AGC agreement), which had been drawn up on the initiative of the UN European Economic Commission and whose aim is to coordinate plans for the construction of major international railway routes. Under the AGC agreement, seven major railway routes will either be built on Czechoslovak territory or adapted to meet the future needs of international and domestic railroad traffic, particularly for speed limits of 160 to 250 km per hour.

Participation in Reunification Issue Demanded

AU1602120290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 90 p 1

[Vaclav Bervida commentary: "Looking After Everyone's Interests"]

[Text] Barriers—real and imaginary—are crumbling in Europe. Bridges are being constructed and rebuilt between people. It is as if borders had stopped dividing conflicting worlds.

The two Germanies are heading toward reunification; for years they developed completely differently and each was extremely vigilant about the other. Despite this, one developed very successfully, while the other is now in economic, social, and political crisis. Nevertheless—and this is the main thing—Germans want to live together in one state and not in two. This reality takes precedence over other considerations.

Germany was divided on the basis of the outcome of World War II, a war which it unleashed. Reunification would, obviously, long remain a rhetorical phrase if it were not for current processes under way in Europe—startling by their breakneck speed—or for the unmistakable trend toward eradicating distrust and removing artificial barriers. It is, then, an element and a result of these processes. However, the question arises whether this is a mere German matter.

In time, reunification will give rise to the strongest economic and political entity in Europe, with the exception of the Soviet Union. Because of experiences from the recent past and because neo-Nazism has far from disappeared, anxieties are being aroused that this potential may once again serve expansionist aims. In the most recent public opinion poll carried out in our country no less than 36 percent of respondents were in favor of German reunification, but in the distant future. This shows that caution still prevails among our citizens.

It is logical that Czechoslovakia—as one of the first victims of Nazi expansionism and as one of the victorious states in World War II—is immediately concerned by German reunification and should, therefore, take part in negotiations about it.

Federal Chancellor Kohl has given an assurance that war must not originate from Germany. These are serious words. As symposia and statements issued by politicians indicate, Europeans are aware that this issue involves the whole continent. Perhaps the best method of dispelling anxieties is to make sure that the democratic nature of current European processes is not lost, that borders are not a matter of discord, and that trust becomes permanent due to our common endeavor. Germans, our neighbors, again have something to say about this.

Hromadka Offers To Aid Emigration of Soviet Jews

LD1502220190 Prague CTK in English 1714 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia is willing to help solve the problem of the emigration of Soviet Jews as far as it can, while fully respecting international bonds in the sphere of human rights as well as the rights of the peoples and countries concerned, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka stated here today.

Responding to news agencies' contradictory reports about Czechoslovakia's role in the transit of Soviet Jewish emigrants to Israel via Czechoslovak territory, the deputy premier stated that this question is being considered from all points of view—humanitarian, international law, interests of third countries, and security of both the emigrants and Czechoslovak citizens. In this

connection he stressed that in harmony with the general declaration of human rights, Czechoslovakia must insist on the stand that the freedom of choosing the place of residence of every individual must be effectively guaranteed in practice.

Communique Released on Hromadka Visit to Israel

AU1602105690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Feb 90 p 15

[CTK correspondent's report: "CSSR - Israel: Ecclesiastic Ties"]

[Text] Tel Aviv— Addressing a news conference in Jerusalem at the close of his visit to Israel, CSSR Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka advocated a comprehensive expansion of economic and cultural contacts between the two countries. A communique has also been released on his talks with Minister of Religious Affairs Zvulun Hammer. The two representatives expressed themselves in favor of strengthening ecclesiastic ties between Israel and Czechoslovakia and of sending Israeli teachers to Czechoslovakia with a view to reinforcing the Jewish religious community. They also decided to establish a joint committee to honor the memory of the Jewish victims of fascism and maintain important monuments [in Czechoslovakia] linked with the Jewish religion and traditions.

Talks With FRG Consider More Border Crossings

LD1402214990 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak and West German experts have discussed here possibilities of opening further border crossings between their countries.

As the result of the discussions proposals for opening a border crossing on a planned Prague-Nuremberg motorway and further seven border crossings that would be opened during this year's summer season will be submitted to the governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Havel Discusses Cooperation With Hamburg Mayor

LD1502100790 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today first Mayor of Hamburg Henning Voscherau with whom he discussed possibilities of further cooperation between the two cities.

The Hamburg mayor was also received by Mayor Jaroslav Koran of Prague. The West German guest voiced conviction that this visit will contribute to the creation of new friendly relations between the two states and voiced support for further development of democracy in the East European countries. He said that contacts between Prague and Hamburg can also be described as a symbol of further unification of Europe.

Waterways Accord Reached With GDR Minister

LD1302043990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Frantisek Podlena and Heinrich Scholz, Czechoslovak and GDR transportation ministers, respectively, agreed today to expediently implement specific measures to expand international transport. The sailing of private boats and sport dinghies on the two countries' inland waterways including transit, will be made possible.

The ministers also discussed improving transportation quality.

Sociological Research Reflects Parties' Support

LD1502002990 Prague CTK in English 1707 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—A group for independent social analysis has carried out a sociological research in which 2,350 respondents participated—29 per cent are for the Civic Forum and the Public against Violence, 10.2 per cent for the Greens Party, 8.4 for the Communist Party, 5.8 for the Czechoslovak Socialist party, 5.7 per cent for the Czechoslovak People's Party, 3.8 for the Slovak Christian Democratic Party, and 21.5 per cent are for no party.

The results of the research show that the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence occupy the dominant position in all Czechoslovak constituencies. As regards political parties there are considerable differences between the regions. The Greens have the biggest support in the north and east Bohemian regions—more than 15 per cent. The communists would obtain more than 10 per cent of votes in the central Bohemian, southwest Bohemian and Bratislava constituencies. Socialists have the strongest position in the north Bohemian constituency and in Moravia. Parties which rely above all on believers have strong support especially in south and central Moravia and in Slovakia.

Nationwide Gallup Survey Lists Popular Concerns

AU1502125890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

["jape"-signed report: "What Worries Us, What Do We Wish; Public Opinion—This Time With Gallup"]

[Text] "The fear of unemployment among people in Czechoslovakia is the same as the fear of their in-laws," Gordon Heald, commercial director of the London branch of the Gallup Institute, told a news conference 12 February when commenting on the results of a public

opinion survey. Together with Vlasta Stepova, minister of trade and tourism of the Czech Socialist Republic, he briefed journalists on a representative survey conducted by the Research Institute of Trade, together with the aforementioned branch of Gallup, between 18 and 27 January this year. A total of 1,500 citizens from the whole of Czechoslovakia participated in the survey which will be used by the Government in preparing its action program.

Some data, such as replies to the question of what people regard as our country's most urgent problem, were made available to journalists before they were made available to the government. A total of 55 percent of respondents were of the opinion that the most urgent problem is the state of the environment, 37 percent replied that it is the obsolescence of industry and technology, and 30 percent referred to the state of public morale. One-quarter of the respondents considers the termination of the monopoly of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to be an urgent problem and 24 percent the provision of health care and the cost of living in our country. Next came difficulties caused by changes in the work ethics and work motivation [as published], the problem of acquiring food that is unobjectionable from the viewpoint of health, the low standard of education, and the fear of inflation (this fear affects 17 percent of our citizens).

What are the greatest problems faced by Czechoslovak families? The poll produced the following results: 52 percent of the citizens regard the cost of living as the biggest problem, 31 percent say it is their own health, and 25 percent say it is the married working women. Their less than cheerful housing situation lies most heavily upon some 20 percent, while 10 percent see a problem in the care for elderly citizens, and the same percentage of people replied that the main difficulties concern the school system and the acquisition of education. About 10 percent of respondents resent the number of working hours, 9 percent are afraid of unemployment, and the same percentage suffers from forced cohabitation under one roof with their in-laws and other relatives. About 6 percent consider the divorce rate to be the biggest problem confronting families.

Which problems should the Government tackle first, which problems should take precedence? More than one-half of citizens (52 percent) regard the preparation of free elections and the democratization of society as the priority task of the government; 44 percent said that it must pay attention chiefly to economic reform; 42 percent regard a solution to the problems of the environment as the most urgent task; while 30 percent consider social and health issues to be of the greatest importance and 26 percent problems of the domestic market and supplies.

Gordon Heald said that the Czechoslovaks are very realistic as far as social developments and the speed of the economic reform are concerned. They assume that it will take approximately seven years before the reform is carried out. They also attach greater importance to internal individual values (truth, ethics) than to material assets. Their fear of inflation surpasses their fear of unemployment. About 40 percent of citizens are of the opinion that there will be a significant rise in the prices of food, clothing, and services, while only 13 percent replied that there will be a substantial increase in unemployment within one year. The greatest fear of unemployment has been recorded among the residents of Prague (27 percent), people between 30 and 44 years of age (17 percent), and university and secondary school graduates. The Moravians fear the least for their jobs.

The Government will evidently derive a lesson also from replies to the question whether its current policies will bring an improvement of the economic situation or whether the economic situation will remain the same or will change for the worse. According to 36 percent of the citizens, the situation will improve, 22 percent are convinced that it will deteriorate, and 42 percent think that it will remain the same.

As Gordon Heald promised, the surveys will be repeated every 2 or 3 months.

CPCZ's Saling Interviewed on Party Assets

AU1502124490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Ondrej Saling, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee secretary, by Vaclav Pergl; place and date not given: "The Purse Will Be Leaner"]

[Text] In the editor's office we receive a lot of letters which are related to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] conduct of financial affairs. People are asking questions about financial contributions drawn from the budget of the Czechoslovak Federation, capital investment financing, as well as about how the money from party members' dues was actually spent.

Those questions are justified and it is a mistake that answers to them have not been routinely published, that even communists did not know what in fact happened to the money they were giving to the party. The following interview with CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Ondrej Saling may somewhat fill this vacuum.

[Pergl] What was the source of CPCZ income?

[Saling] First of all, dues from party members. Last year it was the sum of 1,325,930,000 Czechoslovak korunas (the party had 1.7 million members and candidates for membership at that time), which represented 82 percent of the CPCZ budget. Further sources of income were the levies surrendered by party owned enterprises—last year, for example, this was 171,516,000 korunas—and, finally, the contribution from the Czechoslovak state—70,000,000 korunas last year.

[Pergl] What has been financed using those 70 million?

[Saling] In recent years—that is, also last year—this money represented in fact a contribution to compensate for the cost of party aktivs and the education of party, management, and national committee staff. The cost of the People's Militia was also partially financed from these sources—that is, as a matter of principle, the money was designated for specific purposes.

[Pergl] What about the building construction costs?

[Saling] Based on the 1971 agreement between the CSSR Government and the CPCZ Central Committee, the party has been compensated from the resources of the Czechoslovak Federation for funds which it had invested in the construction of buildings which were transferred into the ownership of the state. Concrete data related to individual buildings have been published. It is necessary to emphasize again that we are interested in a purposeful utilization of those buildings based on the decision of pertinent National Committees.

[Pergl] Where did the money from members' contributions go?

[Saling] They accounted for 82 percent of the CPCZ budget. From this number it is clear that all the operational costs of the CPCZ were paid exclusively from its own income.

[Pergl] What portion was designed for the salaries of the CPCZ staff, what portion for political education and investment activity?

[Saling] Salaries made up 35 to 38 percent of the expenses. The second most significant constituent was the cost of political education, CPCZ conferences, subsidizing of primary organizations, and international activity. All this put together made up one-fifth of the yearly expenses, i.e. approximately 264 million korunas. For example, from this amount, 80 million korunas were earmarked for political education—that is, for the purpose of fulfilling the tasks in mass political and ideological activity and for the publishing of propaganda and methodological materials. A significant portion of those funds was used for the preparation of party aktivs and for the education of members and candidate members in short-term courses and seminars, organized first of all by the houses and cabinets of political education, moreover for consultative meetings, aktivs, etc.

Investment activities reached 10 percent of the budget last year. These included expenses for the replacement of the party's car pool, office technology, telecommunications, and other equipment.

I wish to add that the overall budget was discussed and approved yearly by the CPCZ Central Committee, with the help of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Comission.

[Pergl] How big a "purse" will the party have at its disposal?

[Saling] The party is moving towards absolute self-financing. This speaks for itself, I think. The "purse" will be leaner. For example, the cost of salaries of the CPCZ staff will be reduced significantly. After all, the staff is being reduced 80 percent and even those who will remain will have their salaries cut in accordance with the new salary scale used by the entire National Front.

Of course, other expenses will be reduced as well. It is necessary, in addition to the payment of dues, which will remain the principal source for financing the activity of CPCZ primary organizations and party district committees, to develop entrepreneurial activity at the central level as well as in individual territorial organs and organizations. Entrepreneurial activity, even if it has a supplementary character, is inevitable for the acquisition of means for the political and organizational activity of the party. It is a standard economic practice in the life of political parties in the world. We count also on the possibility of voluntary contributions from individuals and from collectives.

It is exceptionally important to ensure party operation from the material and financial points of view, especially in this period as we are preparing ourselves for parliamentary elections. That is why it is important for party organizations to pay attention also to the payment of dues according to the new scale approved by the extraordinary CPCZ congress.

CPCZ Official on Party Foreign Policy

AU1502124990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Feb 90 p 12

[Interview with Marek Vanuta, head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee International Department, by Vaclav Bervida and Jiri Roskot; place and date not given: "The CPCZ and World Parties"]

[Text] [RUDE PRAVO] How is the CPCZ developing its international contacts?

[Vanuta] In the past the CPCZ had extensive international contacts not only with Communist, social democratic, and socialist parties but also with some christian democratic and conservative parties. However, we are not concealing the fact that the scale of the CPCZ's interparty contacts was associated with its monopoly of power. The situation has fundamentally changed from this point of view. The CPCZ must, and today it consciously wants to, establish its contacts on new foundations and to create new priorities.

We realize that this will not be a simple task. However, in light of the fact that the CPCZ has been relieved of its monopoly of power and that it is reassessing its approach to a number of fundamental issues, its hands have been untied and scope has been created for political engagement and international cooperation.

[RUDE PRAVO] What specifically is being done?

[Vanuta] We have already held talks with representatives of roughly a dozen West European left-wing parties, and we have contacted a number of others. We are making use of these talks to explain the outcome of the CPCZ's extraordinary congress and the party's future course of action. At the same time, we are acquainting ourselves with the West European parties' experiences from their political work in parliaments, from their cooperation with other political parties, from resolving crisis situations, and so on. We are very interested in their views on the profile and position of the European left-wing under current conditions.

[RUDE PRAVO] What is the situation regarding contacts with East European parties?

[Vanuta] Our relations here must correspond to the CPCZ's realistic possibilities and, in the final analysis, to those of its partners. If I am to be specific, party ties have been established with the Hungarian Socialist Party. The renewed Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has also shown interest in contacts with the CPCZ, and a meeting has taken place with representatives of the Party for Democratic Socialism in the GDR. We assume that the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, the successor to the Polish Socialist Workers Party, will also become the CPCZ's close partner in the very near future.

We envisage the development in relations with the CPSU under the new conditions, while respecting the situation that is evolving both within the CPSU and in relation to the CPSU and Soviet society. We conveyed a CPCZ Central Committee message to the 14th extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. In it the CPCZ confirmed its interest in the development of party contacts. It also wants to overcome some of the distrust and reserve which have long existed in relations between the CPCZ and the LCY. Cooperation issues will soon be discussed with the Bulgarian Communist Party. On the basis of a decision made by the CPCZ extraordinary congress, relations with the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party were broken off. The CPCZ's future course of action will be formulated with regard to the development of the internal political situation in Romania.

[RUDE PRAVO] What is your opinion on the party's contacts with developing countries?

[Vanuta] In view of the new conditions, there must also be a reevaluation of our approach to date to Communist parties and to progressive and democratic movements in the developing world. This should not involve a withdrawal of support for liberation and progressive forces. On the other hand, it is impossible to act as "a guarantor and defender" of some discredited regimes in so-called socialist oriented countries, or rather, of those communist parties which, from the point of view of current global development trends, are carrying out an unrealistic policy.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you view foreign policy cooperation within the framework of the Czechoslovak left-wing?

[Vanuta] At the moment, when in our country views are being refined and political trends are being crystallized, we consider it important to develop a dialogue and to participate in the Czechoslovak left-wing forces' discussions on foreign policy issues. The discussions should have a working character and should be conducted on an equal basis respecting the plurality of views.

I want to emphasize that we are prepared to discuss these issues with the other forces on our political scene. We would like to contribute to the development of a broad dialogue and to the establishment of a new political culture in our country.

[RUDE PRAVO] Thank you for the interview.

CTK Director-General Submits Resignation

LD1402115390 Prague CTK in English 1016 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—Director-general of the Czechoslovak News Agency CTK Ales Benda asked Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa by letter today to be relieved of his post.

Ales Benda, a former reporter in the Czech youth weekly MLADY SVET, was appointed to the post by the government of Premier Ladislav Adamec in December 1989, replacing former director Otto Cmolik.

Benda Replaced by Peter Uhl

LD1402200490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The Federal Government today released Ales Benda at his own request from the post of director-general of the Czechoslovak News Agency CTK. It appointed Peter Uhl to that post.

New Daily, Magazines Published in Brno

LD1502233990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Summary] A news conference took place in Brno today with representatives of the editorial team of the new daily MORAVSKO-SLEZSKY DEN and magazines SKRT and REPORTER.

MORAVSKO-SLEZSKY DEN, with its main office in Ostrava, is an independent daily published by the Novinar Publishing House. It is the first of its kind for Moravia. The first four-page issue will be published the day after tomorrow [15 February], and regular publications will begin from 26 February. It will have eight pages and a Saturday supplement.

The first issue of the biweekly REPORTER is coming out after 20 years. The last issue was published in May 1969.

SKRT is a satirical monthly.

First Issue of New Satirical Monthly Published

AU1002160290 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Jan 90 p 7

["hp"-signed report: "Scratch for a Laugh"]

[Text] Prague—The first issue of SKRT [SCRATCH], the humoristic and satirical monthly of the Party of Moderate Progress Within the Limits of the Law [a Dadaistic prank founded by writer Jaroslav Hasek after World War I] appeared at the newsstands yesterday. This illustrated literary journal of 32 pages in standard-size format, which costs four korunas, is one of nine periodicals to be published by the Novinar [Journalist] publishing house. (These will include the revived REPORTER magazine [banned in the wake of the 1968 events] and the Moravian-Silesian daily DEN [DAY], while the periodical NOVINAR has ceased to be published).

"The chief editor of SKRT is not a member of our party's nomenklatura. He does not even have to be a member of the party, but he is," said J.K. Kucera, deputy chairman of the Party of Moderate Progress, who also happens to be the journal's graphics designer. "The party already has over 1,000 members in 37 cities in the republic and, because the first issue of SKRT contains an application form, we expect a further influx."

Slovak World Congress Group Visits Bratislava

LD1302210690 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 13 (CTK)—Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster and Slovak Premier Milan Cic received here Tuesday a delegation of the World Congress of Slovaks, led by its General Secretary Dusan Toth.

"Our task has changed in the sense that we strive now to pass our experience gained in the USA, Canada, Brazil and other countries where Slovaks live, to our homeland," Dusan Toth told CTK.

He added that the talks with the Slovak Government officials have created prerequisites for constructive cooperation. Specialists in various fields who have also arrived in Bratislava would like to participate in this process, he said.

Slovak Official Meets With French Businessmen

LD1302230390 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 13 (CTK)—Slovak First Deputy Premier Vladimir Lexa and representatives of a consortium of French industrial-building firms discussed here today topical issues of capital construction in transport, medical care, services and tourism.

The Slovak official told CTK that proposals submitted are both realistic and interesting and that now returnability of foreign exchange, which Czechoslovakia would borrow from the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, remains to be discussed.

New variants of the project of a high-speed railway in Bratislava were handed today by representatives of the French firms Champenon Bernard and Matra Transport to Slovak Government officials.

There are two elaborated variants of the railway across the Danube—bridge and underground tunnel. It is one of the key problems both from the economic but mainly from the ecological viewpoint.

According to preliminary talks, French firms and Slovak enterprises would share in the construction. Both sides admit a possibility of establishing a joint venture for the fruition of the project in Bratislava. Certain assistance is also planned in operating the railway.

Slovak Deputy Premier Discusses Minority Issues

AU1402162090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Feb 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Sandor Varga, deputy premier in the Slovak Government, by Laszlo Karcagi and Tibor Kis; place and date not given: "The Chances of the National Minorities"]

[Excerpts] Sandor Varga (48 years old) was nominated to the post of deputy premier of the Slovak Government less than two months ago. He gave his first interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the day of his nomination. He said that, as deputy chairman of the government in Bratislava in charge of national minority issues, in addition to solving the national minority issues of the Slovaks living in the neighboring countries, he regards as his main task the development of a network of national minority institutions in Slovakia. When he received us, our first question asked whether there has been any advance in this area since his nomination.

[Varga] Yes, there are areas in which we have advanced. We are now reorganizing the government's national minority secretariat (established in 1969 with 15 members, but its number has since been reduced to only three). However, we failed to ensure that the national minorities are represented in various sector ministries. Some Hungarian organizations demanded national

minority deputy ministers primarily in the area of schools, culture, agriculture, and perhaps in the planning office too. Well, the deputy ministers were nominated recently, but there is not a single Hungarian among them,—that is, there is one Hungarian deputy minister in the Education Ministry, but he is only in charge of economic issues, and not of the national minority schools. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is there a national minority issue from the viewpoint of the Slovaks?

[Varga] The great majority of the Slovak public is of the opinion that the national minority issue was well solved over the past 40 years, and they are very much surprised by the demands of the national minority today. The situation of Slovaks living in Hungary plays a decisive role in this subject. As a result of the national minority policy of the past 20 years, a view has emerged which automatically compared the situation of the national minorities living in the CSSR and that of the national minorities living in Hungary on a quantitative basis. Statistics on the level of culture and schooling show that the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia is much better than that of the Slovaks in Hungary. As a result, all the national minority demands of the Hungarians here have been blocked by the hard wall of public opinion. I must also say that, while the overwhelming majority of politicians here have a clear view of the national minority issue, they must consider the public opinion pressure, especially now when the elections are approaching. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] What are the major political demands and efforts of the Hungarians in the CSSR?

[Varga] Our main demand is to formulate the rights of national minorities in the future constitution in accordance with our endeavors. The level of self-government should be stipulated. The new constitution should no longer suggest that the two majority nations are the founders of the state and the other minorities are only secondary elements. The national minorities living here should not feel like second-class citizens. It is also extremely important to make sure that the national minorities have a decisive influence on guiding the national minority schools. The number of national minority schools and classes should increase. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] What can Hungary do in order to improve the situation of Hungarians living in Slovakia?

[Varga] First of all, Hungary should properly settle the conditions of Slovaks living in Hungary. I very much hope that a law will be legislated on national minority representation in Parliament, because, without this law, the most democratic elections would not guarantee the representation of national minorities in the National Assembly. Such results could greatly help the movements of Hungarians here because then we can say that this problem has already been solved in Hungary. Of course, a lot can be done in the areas of schooling and education. However, all of us know that it is impossible to solve every problem accumulated over decades in a few months.

Cic Suggests Economic Measures to Slovak Council

AU1502115790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Feb 90 p 2

[Report on speech by Milan Cic, Slovak Socialist Republic premier, at the 21st session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 9 February]

[Text] Milan Cic, Slovak Socialist Republic premier, briefed the deputies on the situation in drafting the Slovak Government's policy statement. He stated, with regret, that the national republican governments do not always have an opportunity to enter sufficiently in advance into the formulation of concepts for important nationwide laws which alter and complete our state's political system. They have become a kind of appraisal organ which misrepresents their constitutional responsibility and ignores the principles of the Federation and the sovereign national republics' original competence which ensues from the people's right to self-determination.

The second group of problems requiring active measures concerns the strategy for our transition from a command-administrative economy to a socio-market economy. This will make possible the development of all kinds of enterprises, including leasing national property and the broader contributory participation of foreign investment to modernize and restructure our national economy.

Limiting arms production and reducing engineering exports to the USSR and the other CEMA states has highlighted the necessity of changing production programs in all specialized enterprises in Slovakia. This will immediately concern a large number of people, approximately 70,000 employees, said the premier. Some enterprises already have alternative programs prepared. Unexpected rapid development in the international situation, however, has had the effect that conditions for profit generation and meeting employees' needs in this sector will not be created favorably. We see a remedy for this situation, among other things, in the development of the automobile industry. Appropriate discussions are underway with European automobile manufacturers as well as with companies in Japan, South Korea, and the United States.

Improving the quality of the environment represents the third group of urgent issues. A remedy in this sphere is in no way a matter of months; it will mean a lot of sweat and sacrifices for us. However, it is possible to speedily adopt effective institutional measures and, therefore, the government has decided to submit to the Slovak National Council in the very near future a proposal for

the establishment of a competent cross-section state administration central organ with responsibility for the environment.

The government wants all citizens, said Milan Cic, to contribute toward resolving grave ecological problems with their suggestions and initiatives.

I would not be worthy of the citizens' trust, said Milan Cic later, if I were to keep quiet about matters which inconvenience the government in achieving its set aims. We are witnesses to frequent, and not always warranted, pressure being put on enterprises' management, on the representatives of collectives, and on managing structures. This is often motivated by a personal or collective settling of accounts, by envy, and by revengefulness—that is, by motivation which is included among an individual's specific characteristics. However, the consequences are social and often, far-reaching, since manifestations of objectively unjustified dissatisfaction disrupt the manufacturing process.

Eradicating undesirable phenomena in economic policy often requires large financial and foreign currency resources in order to alter production programs and increase enterprise profit resources over several years. Immediate pressure for the payment of premiums, for higher salaries, for more leave, for early retirement, and for financial discrimination not warranted by performance is, however, on the increase regardless of the fact that enterprises have to "survive" without the often high state subsidies provided in the past and without lucrative arms production. The government is not physically capable of resolving these problems for the specific conditions of each enterprise. The new unions and management, therefore, should not only show a greater interest but also a greater effort and responsibility in seeking a solution, especially if we understand state enterprises as specific independent entities.

Today a great deal of attention is devoted to ecology and this is correct, stressed Milan Cic. It is necessary to quantify and deal not only with the consequences but with the causes and to apply a principle of prevention, not sanctions. Unfortunately, we often find ourselves in a labyrinth here since two social interests come into conflict. It is claimed, and I do not doubt it, that Gabcikovo threatens the quality of our water, soil, flora, and fauna. Little is said about the fact that it will save us five million tonnes of coal which—if we burn it in Novaky [power station]—will endanger our environment. Or another example: We are resolved to support the development of tourism, however, no sooner has work begun on the construction of another hotel in Bratislava than dissatisfaction is expressed in various ways with its location. It is necessary to deal with the shortage of apartments. However, the construction of panel housing has been strictly rejected without alternative solutions being put forward. The Slovak premier pointed out that if the government is not given a chance to concentrate on asserting the principles of the new economic and social policy, bitter conflicts may arise, including serious disruptions to society's social guarantees and to the citizens' standard of living. He appealed to all those managers in the economic sphere and in state administration who, to date, have not understood the profound changes underway in our society and who continue to think and act as before, to make way for those who, by their deeds, acknowledge the renewal of our economic and social life.

Slovak Council Criticizes Legislative Procedure

AU1502125490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 90 p 1

[Statement issued by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 8 February]

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council expressed concern at the manner in which several draft laws of the CSSR Federal Assembly are being prepared. In many respects these drafts exceed the jurisdiction of the Federal Assembly and interfere with the jurisdiction of national councils. This state of affairs had also been noted by the Legislative Council of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government in its standpoint on the situation in drafting Federal Assembly legislation. The Slovak National Council subscribes to this point of view and declares that, in their future activities, the Slovak National Council and its bodies will proceed so that the restructuring of the Czechoslovak legal system under present conditions is carried out within the framework of the current Constitution and the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Federation, so that the constitutional division of the sphere of influence between the republics and the federation is fully respected. This requires that the Federal Assembly and the Federal Government do not prepare any laws which belong to the jurisdiction of national councils, but that these laws be prepared with the participation of the appropriate republican bodies. At the same time, it is necessary that draft laws of the Federal Assembly be submitted to the republican legislative and executive bodies for consideration with sufficient lead time. Only such an approach will make possible a democratic formulation of laws that express the will of the nation.

PAV Official Condemns Growing Nationalism

LD1502141590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] A report on the second Public Against Violence [PAV] conference held 10 February, at which the PAV was constituted as a political movement, was presented at the beginning of today's regular briefing of the movement in Bratislava.

Jan Budaj, chairman of the PAV Council, then delivered a statement setting out the movement's view of the growing nationalism in society, and sharply condemned various anti-Semitic, racist, and even fascist slogans which have appeared in the last few days in Bratislava.

He stressed that at the present stage of the democratization process the public has a unique opportunity to dissociate itself from individual circles or groups which are trying to destabilize society.

Later in the PAV briefing, the new Slovak National Council building on Castle Hill, described as the last dominating socialist example of political mania for things on a gigantic scale, was mentioned. At the briefing, however, the building was dscribed as hasty and unjustified, and demands were made that it be pulled down.

Podlesny Appointed New Public Security Chief

LD1402195690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The CSSR minister of the interior has appointed Lieutenant Colonel Dr Podlesny to the post of chief of the federal administration of public security. He is a former employee of the ministry. In 1971 he was removed from his position at the federal criminal center on political grounds.

National Socialist Youth Approves Organization

AU1302154990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The aim of the constituent congress of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Youth (CNSM) [Ceskoslovenska narodne socialisticka mladez], held in Prague on 8 February, was to approve the action program, organizational rules, and the CNSM declaration. The delegates also elected the CNSM Central Council and Ales Vebr as its chairman.

Planning Concluded for Pope's 21 Apr Visit

AU1302154690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] On 8 February, Father Roberto Tucci from the Vatican ended his visit to Czechoslovakia, where he had discussed the preparations and schedule for the visit by Pope John Paul II. The visit is planned for 21 and 22 April.

Spokesman Discusses Modrow Visit to Bonn

LD1502185790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1649 GMT 15 Feb 90

["Text" of statement by government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer at news conference in Bonn on 15 February]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— 1. All talks held, whether with the federal president, the federal chancellor and other members of the government, with the president of the Bundestag, with personages from West German industry and the chairmen of the parliamentary groups of the parties represented in the Bundestag, were characterized by their openness and business-like nature. many constructive thoughts and interesting offers were expressed at the various talks.

2. The talks showed that since the Modrow-Kohl meeting in Dresden much has been set in motion in the most varied of areas that will determine cooperation beween the two German states in the long term. And many of these things were further helped along by the talks in Bonn. Important elements are developing from this that will be components of the growing together of the two states.

3. Besides the availability of 30 million Deutsche marks assured for humanitarian purposes, for wheelchairs for disabled children and adults—there has already been information on this in the media—assured in the talks between Federal Minister Bluem and GDR Minister Eppelmann, the decision by both governments to form an expert commission on questions of monetary union and an economic community that is to start work next week should be highlighted in what was discussed in Bonn. Both governments agreed that such issues are complex and must be examined thoroughly and carefully. Both sides also agreed that giving GDR citizens social security during this step-by-step process of step-by-step unity must remain guaranteed in any event. The GDR government assumes that in spite of pressure of time, the procedure must be effected in a very responsible and calm manner.

4. There was also far-reaching agreement on the fact that the process of unifying the two German states can only be carried out if it is embedded in the process of European unification, with complete respect for the security interests of their neighbors in East and West and of all states on the continent, particularly of the USSR. However Chancellor Kohl's negative attitude on the issue of the military neutrality of the GDR and the FRG or a united Germany and the lack of readiness to recognize definitively the Oder-Neisse line, the Republic of Poland's western frontier, as the GDR did decades ago in the treaty of Zgorzelec, show how different the positions are on such important issues and what hindrances still must be cleared away to act in a fully responsible manner not only toward their own nation, but—this must be particularly stressed here—toward the nations of Europe too.

5. There were differing, even opposing positions, with regard to the solidarity contribution of 10 to 15 milliard [billion] marks, which was mentioned by Hans Modrow in Dresden and which has also been demanded by the roundtable as an appropriate immediate measure. A relevant list with pressing needs, including consumer goods to stabilize the supply situation, specific projects in the health service, as well as local measures and those in connection with the infrastucture to secure the functioning of towns and communities, were handed over to Chancellery Minister Seiters on 25 January.

In this question the FRG Government, however, showed no give-and-take, although it has spoken repeatedly of solidarity and immediate measures to support the stabilization process in the GDR. The proposal for a monetary union and economic community cannot be rated as an immediate measure. Whoever thinks it is and acts as if it is the fault of the Modrow government and the roundtable that in Bonn the conclusion of such a monetary union and economic community was not immediately reached, is trying to deceive the public—because first of all there was no official offer for negotiations from Bonn by the time of the talks on Tuesday, and secondly it would be fatal for one to decide to surrender in one of the most elementary spheres of state sovereignty without thoroughly examining all the linked problems, discussing them, and finding the consensus required for each of them. If the GDR Government requires here in its method of action sobriety, levelheadedness, reason and transparency, then this has nothing to do with braking, but with responsibility. We should not allow ourselves to be dissuaded from this basic position by panic mongering or by overdramatizing. These things obviously are only aimed at making this country practically insolvent.

6. The citizens of this country went onto the streets in October to fight for freedom and human rights and the right to self-determination. Did they, and do they now want an Anschluss, the unconditional surrender of their country to the Federal Republic, the renunciation of the right to self-determination they fought for? Even if the answer to that already seems clear, information on this too will no doubt be given in the elections on 18 March at the latest. As far as the government is concerned, its representatives underlined in Bonn that the self-determination of the GDR citizens must be preserved. There must be no Anschluss. I would like to repeat Hans Modorw's words at the end of his talks with Federal Chancellor Kohl. No one must allow himself to be put under the pressure of time if something sensible is to emerge. The action of the two governments must always make it clear that this is taking place out of resonsibility toward one's own nation, toward the European states, toward the world, toward peace. That is, that here the national question is very closely linked to the international [question].

7. Finally, I should mention that the trade unions' permanent observer in the Council of Ministers noted that the trade unions feel compelled to express gratitude

to the delegation. The trade unions felt themselves to be thoroughly represented by the delegation in Bonn. The behavior of the delegation had contributed to level-headedness. The trade unions have gained self-confidence from the behavior of the delegation members.

And finally I would like to mention that the work of the GDR delegation in Bonn and their actions as a whole were approved by the Council of Ministers today.

Editorial on Visit

AU1602114990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "The Signal From Bonn"]

[Text] Spectacular results are hardly to be expected from Prime Minister Modrow's visit to Bonn. As a matter of fact, prior to the talks, the Bonn government had given rise to great expectation by proposing an immediate monetary union. At the same time, however, it made it clear that it does not intend to conclude any agreements with the GDR's transition government that reach beyond 18 March. Political circles on the Rhine did not miss any opportunity to weaken the Modrow government in order to reduce the price for the unification of the two states. To prevent a "dramatic exacerbation of the situation" in the GDR, as Chancellor Kohl put it at a news conference on 13 February, Bonn has little specific to offer besides noisy declarations of intent.

After the first day of the visit, it has become clear that, as a matter of fact, the FRG Government is ready for "comprehensive commitments," but is not willing to provide the solidarity aid of 10-15 billion Deutsche marks [DM], demanded by the roundtable and the GDR Government. Bonn's hesitant attitude is not really understandable because Chancellor Kohl also mentioned the FRG's export surplus amounting to DM130 billion and promised to make capital flow into the GDR.

However, he is not willing to do that before the completion of the economic and monetary union of the two German states, which means not before the GDR has given up its financial sovereignty so that a market economy can develop in an unrestricted manner in the GDR. This cannot take place before 18 March, but specific preparations are to be started next week by a joint commission of experts.

However, even if this is the only tangible result that has been achieved so far, one should beware of assessing it as "disappointing." On the path toward national unity, there seems to be little bread and plenty of stones at the beginning. The stones are easily detected: Membership in different alliances, and different economic and social systems, ideas, and values in the two countries. This was discussed in Bonn, and Hans Modrow made it clear that the GDR has more to contribute to the emerging unity than the bitter defeat of "real socialism," namely intellectual and material values, industrious and talented people.

Thus, unification must not be tantamount to an incorporation or an annexation. There was agreement on this between Modrow and Kohl, as well as on the fact that unification must not be a national solo attempt. They concurred that it must be embedded in the European process in such a way that the security of all will increase. Nobody should enter a united Germany with fears, and nobody should be afraid of a united Germany. This is the signal that comes from Bonn.

Further From Modrow

AU1502215790 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 15 Feb 90 p 1

["Nea./tl." report: "Modrow: Results Cannot Be Seen in Figures"]

[Text] Bonn—The result of his visit to Bonn cannot be seen in concrete figures, GDR Premier Hans Modrow said after his talks with representatives of business and with FRG Finance Minister Theo Waigel. He and Waigel agree that the decision about the currency union can be made only by the newly elected People's Chamber, but that now an expert committee has to do the preparatory work. On Bonn's side, State Secretaries Koehler of the Finance Ministry (chairman), Jagoda (social matters), Von Wuerzen (economics), and Bundesbank Vice President Schlesinger will participate in the negotiations.

Waigel stated that he wants a national economic overall calculation for five or 10 years as the basis of all measures. He rejected the accusation that the FRG Government was badly prepared: "If a transitional government without any leeway for the decisive offer of the FRG Government comes, such an accusation eliminates itself." A slight controversy ensued when Modrow was asked about an expert opinion by Bremen historian Arno Peters, who claims to have calculated FRG debts in reparations to the GDR amounting to 727.1 billion Deutsche mark [DM]. Modrow: "I do not have any reason to reject such considerations." Waigel called the calculation dubious.

Minister Rainer Eppelmann of the Democratic Awakening assessed Bonn's promises concerning the economic and currency union as an important sign of hope for the people in the GDR. He interpreted the promise by the chancellor in such a way that "in the very near future" income and state services such as pensions will be paid "in hard Deutsche marks" and that the social systems will be interlocked. The first disappointment of the East Berlin delegation is due to the fact that most of them had expected to have "a banana and a Golf car in the shopping bag" for everyone in the GDR upon their return. He came to a firm agreement with Labor Minister Norbert Bluem (Christian Democratic Union) concerning immediate aid amounting to DM30 million for

handicapped people in the GDR. Modrow's talks with the top managers of the economic associations did not yield any results.

Previously, Modrow had made evasive statements on accusations that, as head of the Socialist Unity Party area leadership, he had been responsible for the brutalities committed against demonstrators in Dresden in October.

FRG Institute To Assist in Election Results

LD1302022890 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] GDR Radio and Television are working up to the elections on 18 March with the FRG Institute for Applied Social Sciences [INFAS]. On election day at about 1800 [1700 GMT], INFAS will present a prognosis of the assumed result, Managing Director Liepelt announced. This will be based on 300 polling stations spread over the entire GDR, used by over 22,000 people. INFAS is already researching the course of the formation of opinion in the GDR. According to Liepelt, any data found should be publicly accessible to prevent any manipulation.

Momper Presents Plan Based on Berlin Model

AU0902104290 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Christa Schaffmann report: "West Berlin Model Ought To Be Applied to the GDR"]

[Text] In the course of his talks in London with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper sought to convince the British Government that it was necessary to pursue a Germany policy at a faster pace.

Only one day after GDR Premier Modrow had submitted in Berlin his ideas for the road to German unity, Momper presented an alternative plan in London. He assumes that the GDR Government that will be elected in March will take rapid steps toward unity and will thus regard it as its most noble goal to make itself superfluous. A second precondition for his plan is that the 6 May local elections are already being held within the framework of laender, that is to say that the administrative reform is being implemented at a high speed.

Basically, Momper's plan for Germany boils down to applying the model for West Berlin to the entire GDR. Its essential points are:

—the borders in Europe are guaranteed by the CSCE on the basis of their current, actual course;

—West Germany's obligations vis-a-vis NATO remain unchanged;

—East Germany (the territory of the former GDR) will develop comprehensive links with West Germany over an extended period of time, the citizens have the full right to vote and thus participate in the direct Bundestag elections;

—trade between East Germany and the USSR and other East European partners is given preferential treatment;

—following a transition period, West German laws are directly applicable both in East Germany and Berlin; subsequently, constitutional jurisdiction is established for all territories;

—East Germany is demilitarized and subjected to regulations that are currently applied to West Berlin as a further development of the Control Council Law No. 43;

—until a collective security system is established in Europe, Soviet military personnel will remain stationed in East Germany at the same number and strength as that of the United States, France, and Great Britain east of the Rhine and in West Berlin;

—military liaison missions will remain and have the task of monitoring the observance of military regulations concerning Germany;

—disagreements between Germany and the Four Powers will be decided by an international court of justice, whose judgments are accepted by Germany from the very beginning.

Walter Momper outlined this plan in London on 3 February. He stressed to journalists that the model is based on drastic troop reductions in Europe. It implies full EC membership of the GDR. Asked by journalists why the USSR ought to accept the GDR's leaving the Warsaw Pact, while the FRG would remain in NATO, Momper said that from his point of view, the USSR has no other alternative. At the same time, in his talk with BERLINER ZEITUNG, Momper emphasized that extending NATO to the Oder-Neisse border was not acceptable. The West Berlin mayor said that he wants to outline his plan in Washington even before the GDR elections and to find in Washington—as he did now in London and Paris—how the allies can accompany and promote the process of unification.

Policy Model Viewed

AU0902113590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 6 Feb 90 p 1

[Christa Schaffmann editorial: "Better No Illusions"]

[Text] The plan of the governing mayor of West Berlin, about which BERLINER ZEITUNG reported extensively yesterday, has frightened many of our readers: Here someone is not only talking about unity but is even giving dates, which everyone can already note down. It seems that the GDR is to be abolished by an administrative reform, the National People's Army will be

buried almost as a side effect, and all laws and social regulations will be eliminated that do not correspond to FRG legal norms.

The fact that others are now telling us what is to happen and when is causing unease. But let us not forget: It was not Walter Momper who invented the dissolution of the GDR; the idea was born in the streets of the GDR, and it was there that it was proclaimed aloud. The dissolution is taking place day by day through an unending stream of resettlers. Momper is only drawing up a potential schedule. This schedule is sobering, perhaps shocking for many, but it has one advantage: It no longer gives the GDR citizens the illusion that a third path will provide us with the advantages of both socialism and capitalism at the same time and that the GDR will find the philosopher's stone, the license of which we can then sell to Western Europe.

The People's Chamber can be elected on 18 March; however, it only appears that the social prospects can be chosen. It is better to state this as clearly as Momper did instead of following a policy of appeasement. Instead of being frightened, it is necessary to think about what kind of independent contribution we can still make, in particular in view of the speed of the current processes. The decision at the elections will be a chance—if it brings about a government that is supported by a clear majority, is oriented toward the interests of the people, and is capable of protecting at least the most sensitive parts of the body with a social shield against the onslaught of capitalism.

Momper Urges Larger Amounts of Aid From FRG

LD1202112490 Hamburg DPA in German 1043 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—Berlin's governing mayor, Walter Momper (SPD) [Social Democratic Party] has accused the federal government of doing too little during the past few weeks to give substantive help to the people in the GDR and create a "sign of hope." In Bonn one has "stood and watched things get in a mess," Momper stated today at a news conference in Schoenberg Town Hall.

GDR citizens have not seen a lot of the immediate aid promised by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDR) [Christian Democratic Union]. The lack of practical commitment by the federal government to overcome the problems has also contributed to many people leaving the GDR. [passage omitted]

Momper called on Kohl and GDR Premier Modrow (PDS) [Party for Democratic Socialism] to give full attention to overcoming the social consequences of their currency policy decisions during their forthcoming meeting in Bonn. A monetary union, the hitching of the GDR currency to the Deutsche mark, is necessary but only possible if at the same time social hardships for GDR citizens are brought under control. Part of this involves the payment of unemployment and social benefits, as well as rent rebates, a graded program to reduce subsities, and the raising of rents. [passage omitted]

FRG Election Campaigns in Nation Viewed

AU1002161890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 90 p 2

[Klaus Steiniger editorial: "The Chancellor's Change of Mind"]

[Text] Close your eyes and imagine that France's Premier Michel Rocard went to Britain shortly before parliamentary elections to call upon the people to vote for the Labour Party. Or Margaret Thatcher campaigned in Bouche-du-Rhone in southern France for conservative candidates for the Paris National Assembly. Such cases of flagrant interference would be totally outside the pattern of European political thinking and behavior.

Mr. Kohl thinks differently. "Instead of appearing 'only' as a chancellor, and not as a direct election campaigner in the GDR, he now intends to launch a real election campaign there prior to the elections on 18 March—against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], and for the bourgeois center," as DIE WELT wrote. The daily gave the reason for "the chancellor's change of mind": "the surprisingly direct and successful actions of the Social Democrats in the GDR," in particular "Brandt's impressive appearance in Gotha." Yesterday, Kohl considered the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] his only opponent; now he has extended the spectrum of those who must be fought to the GDR's SPD. An interesting enemy image.

By the way, smart Mr. Ruehe, who recently recommended to his "partners" in the GDR that as a prerequisite for financial support, they should resign from the Modrow coalition, already gave us a foretaste of what is in store for us by his appearance on 30 January.

Commenting on the activities of prominent Bonn politicians, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze wrote the following in IZVESTIYA recently, stressing: "Certain quarters in the FRG obviously have embarked on a course of unscrupulous interference in preparations for the elections in the other German state."

There is no doubt that certain FRG politicians, sacrificing tact to tactics, are also hurting the feelings of supporters of the young GDR opposition who are oriented toward their country's benefit. That is shown, among other things, by the wave of resignations from a party that started to make efforts for more democracy, the chairman of which, misjudging the will of a considerable part of its members, promptly offered himself as a "partner" to Kohl's Christian Democratic Union.

Commentary Welcomes Ottawa Agreement on Unity

LD1502200590 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1110 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Detlef Wohlert commentary]

[Text] So it has been done, at last. The Gordian knot of multilateral squabbling over international conditions for a unified Germany has been cut. The agreed six-country conference has become a matter of a fixed settlement. For the first time ever, the four victorious World War II powers will thus join the two German states for talks on a framework for a process of the German states' growing together under the roof of European integration. All this is taking place on the eve of the CSCE-II Helsinki review conference convened for this coming autumn.

A whole series of vital questions will, in fact, have to be settled before then, particularly with regard to Germany's eastern and western neighbors. There is, for instance, the pending issue of a unified Germany's external borders. Internationally binding treaties between the GDR and the Republic of Poland on the inviolability of the postwar Oder-Neisse border have long been signed, it is true, but what about their validity if one of their signatories should cease to exist as a legal entity?

Against that backdrop, it will hardly have come as a surprise in Ottawa when a Polish diplomat attending the Ottawa conference voiced his country's urgent wish of being included in the talks over Germany. The motion was nurtured by Chancellor Kohl's renewed wavering over Germany's eastern border during the 13 February news conference in Bonn. Once again trying to postpone the border issue past the establishment of a unified Germany, Kohl acted according to the slogan of creating accomplished facts first and seeing how to continue later.

That such reckoning does not always pay has been shown by the Ottawa agreement, because even in the envisioned conference of the Germans together with the four victorious powers, Kohl would have already liked to see the Allies faced by the representatives of just one united Germany. As regards the two German states' alliance commitments as another important issue, Kohl would thus also have had a favorable negotiating position vis-a-vis the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. The issue of which military alliance a unified Germany would have to be affiliated to was left virtually undoubted by the West, although a special status within NATO of what is GDR territory today was in fact considered conceivable. For the Soviet Union, as well as for the people in our country, I think this NATO vision is utterly unacceptable. It very much looks like it will be a matter of long and extensive discussion to come.

Nonetheless, the Ottawa agreement on convening a six-country conference means an important breakthrough, not least because it would hold the perspective of turning the rather stumbling intra-German movements of the past into faster pan-European progress. The time is right.

Transportation Cooperation With EC

AU1402141290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Transportation With EC in Transportation Sector"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—Karel van Miert, EC commissioner for transportation policy, said that his talk with Transportation Minister Heinrich Scholz in Berlin on 9 February was the beginning of systematic cooperation between the EC and the GDR in the transportation sector. It is the concern of the EC to include the new developments in East-West relations in time in its planning. Talking to journalists, Van Miert referred to, among other things, the working out of a network of high-speed trains by an EC commission.

In the talk with the EC commissioner, all problems of cooperation with Western Eurpe were discussed thoroughly. Heinrich Scholz stated that the development of the transportation union with the FRG will be continued in terms of air traffic and with new railroad links.

Oeser Denies Tardiness of GDR Memo to EC

LD1602101690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1708 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Brussels (ADN)—Speaking to ADN today, Dr. Ingo Oeser, chief of the GDR mission in the EC, denied reports that the GDR had not tried early enough to win support from the Western industrialized states represented in the "Group of 24." A relevant memorandum was conveyed to the EC Commission by the GDR Government at the requested time. According to the commission, the document already had been conveyed to all "Group of 24" member-states and would be dealt with at the latter's meeting on 16 February. A spokesman for the EC Commission today confirmed that the GDR memorandum was submitted on time.

The foreign ministers of the "Group of 24" decided in December to extend their support—so far limited to Poland and Hungary—to the GDR, the CSSR, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia, as well, if desired. As coordinator of this aid, the EC Commission had asked the five states to provide information, by the date of its 16 February session, on the progress made in the introduction of reforms and to develop ideas on the shape of any aid to be provided.

Hassmann on Access to EC Market

AU1602120690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 90 p 7

[ADN report: "Lower Saxony-GDR Economic Conference"]

[Text] Helmstedt (ADN)—In the view of FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann, through the help of economy and politics, the GDR will have achieved an average European standard for entering the single EC market by the beginning of 1993. At the same time, he warned that in the course of this process the differences in prosperity and income between the FRG and the GDR can be eliminated within a few years. Speaking to about 500 experts at the first Lower-Saxony-GDR economic conference in Helmstedt on 12 February, Haussmann called for an unreserved pledge to the freedom of business and establishment, to private property, investment protection for FRG capital, as well as to a tax and price reform in the GDR.

Fischer Meets European Parliament President

LD0902183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The growing together of the two German states requires a new quality in the GDR's relations with the EC. In this sphere, speedy progress should be made, taking into account at the same time the pan-European requirements. This was the conclusion arrived at by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and the European Parliament President Enrique Baron Crespo in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

The Foreign Ministry announced that Fischer had underlined that the importance of the GDR's relations with the European communities are noticeably increasing. This is due to the need for the stronger participation of the GDR economy in the international division of labor and to the pan-European challenges that have placed a new peace order on the agenda. [passage omitted]

Maleuda Receives French Assembly Chairman

LD0902141390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR will not become a member of NATO and nor will the FRG become militarily neutral. The unification of the two German states can only occur by means of a disarmament process with the dissolution of the military blocs in a European framework. This joint position was put forward by People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda and the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French National Assembly, Michel Vauzelle, in Berlin today.

During the meeting at the People's Chamber, Maleuda referred to the good and stable relations between the GDR and France, which are continuing to develop with the visit by President Mitterrand to the GDR. Cooperation between the two parliaments should be further expanded. The People's Chamber president gave a detailed explanation of developments in the GDR, describing the discussion of the draft law on the first free and secret elections on 18 March as important.

Vauzelle, for his part, expressed concern that a precipitous unification process between the two German states could pose a danger to European stability. He had the impression that GDR politicians were under strong pressure from public opinion in the country. The GDR and FRG must not, however, become a source of unrest.

Honecker Assumes Responsibility for 'Crisis'

LD1502201990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1918 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The former GDR party and state leader Erich Honecker has assumed the political responsibility for the crisis in which the GDR and its population find themselves. This also concerns the circumstances that led in the end to the electoral fraud in May last year. A relevant statement by Honecker was read on GDR Television this evening by Minister Rainer Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening).

The GDR State Prosecutor's Office has definite evidence that there was falsification of the voting results, including the falsification of election returns, in the various towns and communities in the local elections on 7 May 1989, Professor Dr. Lothar Reuter, deputy state prosecutor general, stated. The former state and Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership, in particular the former SED Politburo under Erich Honecker, bears without doubt the main political responsibility for this, Reuter stated.

Egon Krenz, chairman of the 1989 electoral commission, disputed that there had been electoral manipulation by the republic's electoral commissions. He had insisted on an "absolutely correct procedures for the election." Krenz admitted his political co-responsibility for the policies of the former party and state leadership.

Minister Rainer Eppelmann emphasized that the democratic development in the GDR must be continued with complete commitment. With the elections on 18 March and 6 May, democratically elected people's representations must finally take the fate of the GDR in hand. Despite the bad experiences that they have had in connection with the local elections, he asked the citizens to allow the regional authorities, some of whom were guilty, to work in the coming weeks.

'Text' of Honecker Statement

LD1502203290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1936 GMT 15 Feb 90

["Text" of 14 February statement by former state leader Erich Honecker, read by Minister Without Portfolio

Rainer Eppelmann of the Democratic Awakening on GDR Television on 15 February]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—

Lobetal, 14 February 1990

Statement

In line with my earlier statements to the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany, I admit political responsibility for the crisis confronting the state and the population of the GDR. This also concerns the circumstances that led in the end to the falsification of the election returns of 7 May 1989. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that I have never made decisions for egotistical motives in my life and that I feel myself to be free from any guilt in respect of the criminal law

CDU Urges Restoration of 1949 Constitution

LD1502150590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is striving for the restoration of the GDR constitution of 1949. Chairman Lothar de Maiziere said today in Berlin at a news conference that his party's parliamentary group will introduce a corresponding initiative in the People's Chamber next week.

It will make the motion on 21 February at the latest to lift the presently valid Consitution and to restore that of 7 October 1949. The People's Chamber can thereby do something honorable at the conclusion of its legislative period.

Further on Restoration

LD1502215990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is aiming for the re-introduction of the GDR's 1949 Constitution. As Chairman Lothar de Maiziere announced at a news conference in Berlin today, his parliamentary group will introduce a relevant initiative to the People's Chamber next week.

By Wednesday at the latest, it will put forward a motion to rescind the current Constitution and restore the one of 7 October 1949. The People's Chamber would thereby be able to to perform a worthy task at the end of its legislative period.

The GDR's current Constitution no longer does justice to the current nature of the process along the path to German unity, the CDU chairman said. He described it as a torso with which one cannot live long term and which also no longer provides the necessary basis for the government's actions.

By reading Articles 1 and 2 of the 1949 Constitution, Lothar de Maiziere made clear "the proximity to our current situation," as he put it: "Germany is an indivisible democratic republic. It is built on the German Laender...Berlin is the republic's capital."

After 18 March, the new parliament will have to solve enormous economic, social, and political problems. The future government will have to rely on a constitution "that is the expression of the basic consensus amongst all democrats." The current Constitution does not fulfill this requirement. Democracy cannot be gained by it but with the GDR's first constitution.

"The current situation of having a constitution that is not practiced at all or only in a limited manner is intolerable and will lead to greater legal insecurity in our country," Lothar de Maiziere said. On the other hand, the 1949 Constitution would do justice to the aim of creating an open social and economic order. It guaranteed social rights, the right of works councils and trade unions to have a say, the right to work, [protection of] the farmers' ownership of land from the land reform and the protection of property in general. Touching on fears about savings, Lothar de Maiziere, gave an assurance that his party will put particular emphasis on securing the fruits of labor and savings. People should not be defrauded of the benefits of their work.

Gysi Warns Against Rushing Unification

LD1502231590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2142 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—At the moment, the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] has 700,000 members. A few months ago the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany had 2.3 million members, which in relation to the population was the largest party in the world.

Party Chairman Dr. Gregor Gysi today explained the new membership structure and other guarantees of renewal at a large meeting in the sports and congress hall in Schwerin. "Those who are members now are sincere. There can be no better guarantee of renewal," the speaker stressed.

Gysi extensively explained the PDS' position on the rapprochement between the two German states. Of course one cannot ignore the historical processes, but this is true both ways: It cannot be rushed but nor can anything be delayed. "This is why the only sensible solution is a process of rapprochement to the benefit of citizens in both German states that must be underpinned by treaties." In the first instance, a currency link should be created that could develop into monetary union when the prerequisites for it are fulfilled.

Gysi strongly warned against the overhasty creation of a monetary union. Regardless of the fact that the GDR would lose control over its currency and would thus renounce a considerable amount of sovereignty, from that day on all the enterprises in the GDR would be in immediate competition with all the enterprises in the FRG. With productivity up to 40 percent lower and

significantly higher prime costs in the GDR, this would mean that the products of the overwhelming majority of GDR enterprises would be unsaleable and that they would then have to close, and unemployment running into the millions would occur. "This would break the GDR's social net and then there would be no other option but for the FRG to take over everything for free." This would also be at the expense of federal citizens, particularly the socially week.

Gysi appealed for a strong and sovereign GDR as a prerequisite to achieve unification in the interests of GDR citizens, at the right pace and in the correct sequence.

Touching upon the election campaign, he gave an orientation toward an objective style that is not directed against other parties and groupings.

On the same day in Berlin, the party Executive Presidium confirmed a draft statute for the PDS. This document will be presented to the first PDS party congress on 24-25 February for debate and acceptance.

Democratic Awakening on Unity, Solvency

LD1502191590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Democratic Awakening (DA) is calling for the immediate establishment of the Laender in the GDR and for elections for the regional parliaments on 6 May, Party Chairman Wolfgang Schnur stated today in Berlin. In every Land parliament, the DA will introduce a motion to join the FRG, with reference to Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. In front of foreign and domestic journalists, he called on all GDR citizens to remain in the country and to help to ovecome socialism, to shape democracy, and to create unity.

The party chairman expounded on ideas about social market economy through a clear restructuring program, as well as about the introduction of a new solidarity system of security that allows the individual the right to a secure existence. All of this can only be implemented through a monetary union. "Monetary and economic union should not be impeded by abusrd demands, for they set the final point that makes the process of democratization irreversible," Schnur said.

Asked about financial aid from the FRG, which has been lacking to a large degree after the government's visit to Bonn, Schnur referred to the responsibility of first bringing their own economy into line through the consistent implementation of the economic reforms and thus creating favorable conditions for investors. At the same time, he warned against stupid dissemination of bankruptcy rumors about the GDR because they only trigger off anxiety and panic among the people.

Democracy Now on Monetary Union Scheduling

LD1102022890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At its second nationwide representative conference, the citizen's movement Democracy Now has come out against the overly hasty monetary union of the FRG with the GDR. The 100 or so participants from all the country's areas believe this will result in an unemployment figure in the GDR of 1.5 to 2 million within a year.

A resolution asks the roundtable, the GDR Government and the People's Chamber to take immediate measures in case the country must face a monetary union that would amount to a compulsory union. [passage omitted]

At a press briefing during a conference recess, Democracy Now spokesman Konrad Weiss emphasized that the citizen's movement wants to see a monetary and economic union within the framework of European integration, a growing together of the two German states and not an annexation of the GDR and the FRG. An overly hasty monetary union would be putting the cart before the horse. The basis for the monetary union should be a sound economy. [passage omitted]

CDU, DA, DSU Favor Monetary Union

LD1502182890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian-Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), Democratic Awakening (DA) and the German Social Union (DSU) of the GDR have welcomed FRG Chancellor Kohl's sticking to the offer of a monetary union in his government statement today. "The implementation of this extraordinary political decision can finally be the signal that stops the people going to the West," it says in a joint statement from the three parties. "In this great hour for our people, it is not a question of gifts and credit but of an act of national solidarity. The monetary union and the implementation of the legal prerequisites for social market economy form the foundation for a speedy economic recovery and the securing of the social system in our part of Germany." It is stated that the monetary union was imperative in order to also achieve social union.

It says further in the statement that Moscow and Ottawa were the places where decisive things for the process of German unification had been formulated and agreed on during the last few days. "Agreement has been reached on the fact that unification has to be embedded in and must remain in a stable European framework. There must be no nationalist going-it-alone or German special paths. Despite all the joy about the unification of our people we must not forget our neighbors."

Social Democrats Present Economic Program

LD1402202690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1312 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Social Democrats' economic policy program, which they presented to the international press in Berlin today, stands under the motto: "Law and Freedom—for an Ecologically Oriented Social Market Economy." Frank Bogisch from the SPD [Social Democratic Party] executive cited as the main objectives the federated German state in a united Europe within the present borders, currency and economic union with the federal republic and social security for all.

They are seeking a democratic maket economy, in which all citizens would have a say and a share, which would promote initiatives and the readiness for productivity, in which competition would force the pace of efficient economies and where the citizens as consumers, rather than some anonymous plan, would determine production. With the market economy as all-embracing principle, companies should be able to take free, autonomous decisions. The state would only set a legal framework for tax, competition, trading, social and environmental matters, Bogisch continued. A comprehensive social network could be financed by an efficient flourishing economy. [passage omitted]

Alliance for Germany, Bonn's Help Criticized

AU1202185990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 1

[Hans Eggert commentary: "Alliance for Germany?"]

[Text] What emerged in the GDR's political life the day before yesterday under the massive participation of the FRG chancellor and with the name "Alliance for Germany" would have deserved a plainer name. Because if one looks at the latest opinion polls, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], which has participated in government in the GDR for 40 years and has been worn out; Democratic Awakening, which developed in the storms of autumn and was on the democratic left at that time; and the German Social Union (DSU), which is still younger and can in no way be ascribed to the left spectrum, would hardly gain more than 10 percent of the votes. However, opinion polls can be fatally wrong—at least this may be hoped by the heads of the new alliance. After all, each of them wants to become premier, as they said recently.

Obviously, one can hardly speak of an alliance that is really able to make policy and that normally develops out of agreement on political and personnel programs. The glue that was used here comes from the headquarters of the Bonn CDU and reaches GDR territory in the form of varied election aid, mainly consisting of lots of Deutsche marks.

The fact that Helmut Kohl himself had to accelerate the work of unification shows the problems of the FRG CDU concerning 18 March. A strong left and democratic majority, dominated by the Social Democratic Party [SPD], is certainly not what Kohl needs in the GDR. Following the example of Bonn's opposition, this would introduce too many social ideas that are oriented toward the interests of the working people into the intra-German game. This made pupil (East) CDU immediately find a new enemy image. "Down with the SPD" is the current slogan—because: This party is some sort of follow-up organization of the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. And who still remembers that they themselves used to sit in the delapidated SED boat and applauded just a few weeks ago?

Obviously, the new alliance partners cannot remember this—compelled by Bonn's help. An alliance for Germany? Rather a political insurance policy for survival.

New NDPD Chairman Considers Future Work

AU1502140890 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Wolfgang Rauls, National Democratic Party of Germany chairman, by Bodo Rehboldt in Berlin on 11 February: "Six Questions to Wolfgang Rauls"]

[Text] The 14th National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] Congress elected 41-year-old Wolfgang Rauls—who, up to this time, was president of the Magdeburg city Assembly—as the new party chairman. Immediately after his election, BERLINER ALLGEMEINE asked him the following questions:

[Rehboldt] First of all, congratulations Wolfgang Rauls. With what feelings are you going to tackle the new tasks?

[Rauls] With mixed feelings. Such an office is certainly an office that requires a great deal of responsibility. I hope that I can fulfill the expectations of the members and delegates with my work at the head of the party. I would like to use the experience that I have gained over the past 20 years as an ordinary member and by working at the grass-roots level, and I would also like to try to help implement the resolutions that the party congress adopts.

[Rehboldt] How do you interpret the results of the vote at the 14th NDPD Congress?

[Rauls] First of all, I consider it as support for the opinion of the ordinary member, and as a proposal that came from below, from the basic units of our party, that has been accepted and adopted.

[Rehboldt] What will you do first?

[Rauls] First of all, we will try to define the offer that was publicly made here and to establish an election alliance. I hope that we will be able to find the necessary partners.

[Rehboldt] The election campaign has already started—what course is the NDPD taking, what election alliance does it aspire to?

[Rauls] Guenter Hartmann has expressed it most plainly: We very clearly would like an election alliance with the Free Democratic Party of Germany, which was founded in the GDR; with the Liberal Democratic Party, and with the German Forum Party.

[Rehboldt] In your former work you were closely associated with culture and the arts. Will cultural questions continue to play a role in your political work?

[Rauls] Yes, there can be no doubt about that.

[Rehboldt] What do you like about BERLINER ALLGEMEINE?

[Rauls] I like, above all, the developments I have followed in the past few weeks, the change from NATIONAL-ZEITUNG to BERLINER ALLGEMEINE. I have been a reader of this daily for 20 years, but I must say that in the past couple of years I did not particularly like it, while now I am beginning to enjoy reading it again.

[Rehboldt] We like to hear that.

NDPD Chairman Offers Alliance to LDPD

AU1402155090 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Feb 90 p 1

[Letter from Wolfgang Rauls, National Democratic Party of Germany chairman, to Rainer Ortleb, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany chairman; date not given]

[Text] To Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany:

Esteemed Mr. Chairman,

The congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] cordially congratulates you on your election as chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]. We convey good wishes to all persons in the leading bodies of your party.

All of us in the NDPD followed your congress with great attention. Your statement—that you are open for an election alliance with our party, if, as we interpret it, the NDPD fulfills the conditions created by your party congress for your party—pleases us and gives us confidence for our country.

Our party congress has finally put an end to our party's past, which was burdened by many things, also as regards its relations with the LDPD. We want to start a new chapter in the relations between our parties, together with you, in an sincere and open alliance with your party. Let us thus conclude an election alliance and jointly create a democratic force of the political national-liberal and liberal-social center in our country, which will be indispensable in the future and certainly give new hope to many people. We are open for constructive talks.

With friendly greetings on behalf of all party delegates,

Your Wolfgang Rauls.

Alliance of National, Liberal Parties Proposed

LD1102092990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0909 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—National Democratic Party of Germany Deputy Chairman Guenter Hartmann proposed at the 14th Party Congress on Sunday an electoral alliance of national and liberal parties in the GDR.

In his introductory words, he characterized the national-liberal alliance as a force of the political center that clearly sets itself apart from the left as well as from the right-wing conservative alliance of the Chrisitan Democratic Union, Democratic Awakening, and the German Social Union.

The offer is for an electoral union, for a joint "action of German democrats." [passage omitted]

If an electoral union cannot come about now, possibly for lack of time, then the party will keep an open mind concerning later coalitions with social-liberal parties. [passage omitted]

FDGB Seeks Close Contacts With DGB

AU1402140890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Trade Unions Looking for Close Contacts With DGB"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—In the view of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], the process of unification of the two German states must be embedded in pan-European unification. As FDGB Chairwoman Helga Mausch and representatives of the Executive Committee stated at a news conference in Berlin on 9 February, the FDGB is striving for a community of solidarity with the German Trade Union Federation [DGB] in the process of getting closer to each other. The first contacts with DGB representatives on 9 February were intended to serve the establishment of further steps for work.

The FDGB strongly came out in favor of not permitting any social cuts in the event of an economic, currency, and transportation union, as well as a harmonization of laws with the FRG. A joint GDR-FRG roundtable must ensure a joint social network, which is to be implemented hand in hand with the economic development.

Survey by New Daily Shows SPD in Front

AU1202150890 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Feb 90 p 4

["Me."-signed report: "GDR Newspaper Asks 'Sunday Question'"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 11 February—Last week the new publication HALLENSER UND MAGDEBURGER ZEITUNG FUER SACHSEN-ANHALT [NEWSPAPER OF HALLE AND MAGDEBURG FOR SAXONY-ANHALT], in its first issue, on the basis of a random survey asked 400 citizens entitled to vote in Magdeburg, Schoenebeck, and five rural communities in Wolmirstedt and Burg districts about their political views. A total of 228 men and 172 women between 18 and 75 years were asked the so-called "Sunday question," that is to say, how they would vote if elections were held next Sunday—that was 4 February. Some 35 percent were undecided, while 50.5 were in favor of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, 8.5 percent of the Christian Democratic Union, 1.5 percent of Democratic Awakening, and 1 percent of the German Social Union. The last three parties joined forces in the "Alliance for Germany." The party that was still called the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany at the time of the survey was favored by 1 percent, while the Party of Democratic Socialism—the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany—the National Democratic Party of Germany, New Forum, Democracy Now, and Republikaner gained less than 1 percent of the vote. In addition, the 400 test persons were asked which of the following "problems" was most important for them: Fear of losing one's job, fear of social cuts, necessity for environmental policy, fear of violence, including the danger of war, and fear of the disintegration of the GDR. Fear of social cuts came first, closely followed by the environmental concerns, and the fear of losing one's job.

HALLENSER AND MAGDEBURGER, which perceives itself as an objective guideline for current affairs, is published by a priest and a deacon in Magdeburg. The paper is published by the Bonifatius GmbH company of Paderborn [FRG]. The eight pages of the first circulation were sold for 1 East mark.

Greens, Independent Women Form Alliance

LD1502002890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Independent Women's Union and the Green Party of the GDR have decided to form an election alliance for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. A press statement says that a joint election platform is to be worked out this week by the executive of the Green Party and the founding congress of the Independent Women's Union.

United Left Decides on Election Program

LD1102230790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2009 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The United Left (VL), the action alliance of left-wing organizations, groups and individual members in the GDR, will continue to back socialism based on freedom and democracy. This emerges from the election program of the citizens' movement, which was decided at the GDR delegates' conference in Berlin today. In defending the sovereignty of the GDR, the VL supported a resolute safeguarding of the interests of the working people. In the economic sphere, the citizens' initiative backs public ownership instead of state ownership, as well as sound national economic planning that takes account of differing social and ecological needs. [passage omitted]

The United Left is open to a broad election alliance. There is interest in particular in negotiations with the Independent Women's Association and the Green Party. [passage omitted]

The delegates agreed to hold a GDR Congress on 25-25 February in Berlin to prepare for the elections.

Declaration of 'Alliance for Germany'

AU1102151790 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Declaration of the three parties: Out of National Responsibility"]

[Text] 1. The executive committees of the parties "Democratic Awakening, social and ecological," "German Social Union," and the Presidium of the Christian Democratic Union have formed an "Alliance for Germany" for the People's Chamber elections.

2. The objective of these parties is to gain a large share of the votes and thus to make the establishment of a government by the alliance possible.

3. The alliance gives priority to the identity of each party. The parties are politically independent and autonomous.

4. Under the term "Alliance for Germany," each party uses its own name.

5. Each party independently nominates its candidates for each constituency; the consent of the executive committees of the parties provided and lists of candidates may be joined.

6. The parties declare their readiness to support each other on the regional and central level. The party executive committees set the details for which they are responsible.

7. Those parties that are included in the alliance declare their readiness to be open to other democratic parties, which can be accepted as partners in the alliance only by a unanimous decision.

Communist Party's Area Organization Revived

LD1102154490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1437 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Frankfurt (Oder) (ADN)—After 71 years, the area organization of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD] was officially reestablished in Frankfurt (Oder) on Saturday. Thirty-five delegates elected 17 members to the executive. Semiconductor worker Dietmar Palme from Frankfurt was elected chairman. The 82 year-old-Estonian communist Anja Widas, who worked for many years in the FRG's KPD and who lives now in Frankfurt (Oder), was elected honorary chairperson. [passage omitted]

Demonstration Blocks Social Union Congress

LD1002085390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0742 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Young people are demonstrating outside the Zeiss Planetarium in the Berlin borough of Prenzlauer Berg against the first Land Party Congress of the German Social Union. "If Germany is resurrected Europe must die" is written on the placard they are using to block the main entrance to the congress venue.

The start of the party congress is being delayed as the demonstrators are blocking all the entrances and are also actively resisting the police.

Congress Held

LD1002095290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0851 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first Land Party Congress of the Berlin German Social Union [DSU] began this morning at the Zeiss Planetarium in Berlin after a delay because of demonstrators blocking the venue. "If Germany is resurrected Europe must die," one of their banners proclaimed.

The first speakers were Bavarian Minister of State for Finance, Gerold Tandler, and Chairman of the Berlin (West) State Christian Democratic Union, Eberhard Diepgen. Tandler assured the GDR of aid from the federation, the states, and enterprises in the FRG if the path is set for a social market economy in this country at the coming parliamentary elections. Diepgen spoke on the creation of a united Berlin in the future, of a community in which achievement will be worthwhile. The unemployment feared during the structural changes will, contrary to the view of the "socialists," be no problem for people in the GDR as there is much to do here.

A discussion of the DSU's programmatic positions and the election of a land executive are planned in the course of the day.

The Land Party Congress's guests of honor were brought to the venue under police protection. Meanwhile, the demonstration is continuing.

New Parties, Groups Hold Meetings

AU1102213590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Feb 90 p 1

[ND report: "Politically Active Weekend in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The weekend of 3-4 February in the GDR was characterized by various political activities of parties, organizations, and movements, which were largely aimed at the People's Chamber elections on 18 March 1990. Representatives of FRG parties participated in many events.

At its founding congress in Schkopau in Halle Area, the Green League was established as an independent action alliance of GDR environmental groups all over the republic that goes beyond individual party lines. In Berlin, the founding congress of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) "in the Eastern part of Germany" was held. The Marxist youth organization "Young Left" and the association of "Young Social Democrats" were founded.

Area party conferences were held by the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] in Berlin, Halle, Neubrandenburg, and Stralsund (Rostock Area). Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin (West), told the Berlin delegates that the majority of the GDR citizens want German unity as a guarantee against a return of the old conditions and for better living conditions. Referring to Premier Modrow's latest proposal, SPD Executive Secretary Ibrahim Boehme criticized the aspect of neutrality. The two German states should rather give impetus to gradual disarmament in Europe.

The Democratic Awakening (DA) Main Executive Committee convened in Halle, where the party simultaneously started its election campaign with a demonstration in front of the town hall. Chairman Wolfgang Schnur stated self-confidently: "Here comes the future premier."

Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, stated at the district party conference in Kloetze that one has to be prepared for the SPD as the main opponent in the election campaign. He can also envision running for the office of premier.

Neo-Nazi Defendants Convicted

LD1502221190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2023 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The verdict was announced in Wolgast, Rostock Area, today against seven men and one woman who called themselves the "Walter Krueger SS

Division" and who were accused of glorifiying fascism, revanchism and militarism. The verdict of guilty was on the basis of Paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code for forming an organization with aims hostile to the state.

Four of the male accused were given sentences between 10 months and one year and 10 months. Two of the male accused were given one year suspended. The woman was acquitted. There will be no verdict in the first instance against a male accused who was not present.

In some of its verdicts, the court was far below the extent of punishment called for by the state prosecutor. After the hearing of evidence, all the defending attorneys pleaded for their clients' acquittal. The verdicts are not yet legally valid.

Office for Approval of Joint Ventures Formed

AU1402140590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "Office for the Approval of Joint Ventures"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—An office for the discussion and approval of ventures with foreign participation has been opened at the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. Here applications for approval of ventures, which have a turnover of more than 20 million GDR marks per year or more than an average of 200 employees per year, are accepted and passed on for decision. At the same time, the office discusses questions concerning the founding and approval of joint ventures.

Permits for smaller projects, in particular those of craftsmen and small businessmen, are granted by the financial departments of the area councils.

Law, Constitution Committee Meets

LD1502221390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Law and Constitution Committee of the GDR's parliament today dealt with drafts of the law on the People's Chamber, a decree by the Council of Ministers on a civilian alternative to military service, as well as a law on political parties. The bills are to be debated and voted on by the People's Chamber at its 17th session next week.

The committee, led by its chairman, Professor Manfred Muehlmann (NDPD) [National Democratic Party of Germany], approved the law on elections to the People's Chamber in principle. While there was agreement that parties and political associations should nominate candidates, the allocation of the seats is still unclear. A majority of the committee recommended laying down the number of seats gained by the national election result and not according to constituency. That assumed the validity of a ballot paper throughout the country and would make participation in the election independent of the place of residence.

Furthermore, the first round should be declared valid even if the turnout is less than 50 percent. The constitutional requirement that all citizens can take part in People's Chamber elections was stressed. Nonetheless, there are objective difficulties for GDR citizens working abroad because of the early date of the election. In future, these voters should not be excluded. An open hurdle of between two and three percent should not be used.

The draft of a decree by the Council of Ministers on a civilian alternative to military service in the GDR—as the second reading of a relevant draft law cannot be debated by the People's Chamber before 17 March, the acceptance of the decree was recommended to the plenum.

The draft of a provisional law on parties and other political organizations (parties law) was also approved. It was pointed out that no amendment to the Constitution is required for this. [passage omitted]

The associations law was merely noted by the committee on account of the current state of the draft.

The letter from 15 lawyers of former leading state and party functionaries to the president of the People's Chamber requesting that the attorney general be instructed to suspend the inquiries was another item. Pointing out that such an instruction would be unconstitutional, the committee refused the requested report.

Finally, the deputies received their first information on the draft law on trade union rights. [passage omitted]

Luft Discusses Economic Reforms

LD1002102290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (West) (ADN)—At the first German-German meeting on small and medium-sized industry in West Berlin today, GDR Vice Premier Professor Christa Luft told the 900 or so participants about the development of economic reform in her country. She announced new legislation, above all, for small and medium-sized enterprises. Regulations for the return of publicly owned enterprises to private and semi-state enterprises, for allowing leasing in all ownership forms, as well as for introducing foreign capital into publicly owned enterprises, are planned for this month. There will also be communal ownership. The draft law on crafts and trades, as well as regulations for independent foreign trade, are to be submitted by April.

Work is being carried out at a great pace on new tax legislation for crafts, trades, and business. Foreign investment of over 49 percent is possible without restrictions for all small and medium-sized enterprises, said Prof. Luft. Employees' shares and share documents for workers in publicly owned enterprises are planned. A start is being made on the formation of limited companies. The minister summed up the creation of economic

and legal conditions for entrepreneurial activity by the state: "as much as necessary, not as much as possible."

The minister's personal opinion on the hotly debated issue of currency union is as follows: "That is a project with a mixture of opportunity and risk." She gave priority to an economic association. Prof Luft. outlined a graduated plan that she favored.

An immediate start should be made toward ensuring that the amount of currency that GDR citizens can exchange at a reasonable rate is raised, that both sides clarify all means for taking on loans from the European reconstruction programme, and that capital rapidly flows into the GDR. The minister regards an economic association as possible in 1991-92. [passage omitted]

Lubmin Nuclear Reactor Block Closed Down

LD1502160790 Hamburg DPA in German 1529 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—GDR authorities have closed down reactor block two in the controversial Lubmin nuclear power station, near Greifswald. The responsible authority announced this to the Federal Environment Ministry, a ministry spokesman confirmed today. The GDR side had earlier referred to a temporary closure. [passage omitted]

Topical Data on Radioactivity Released

AU1502133090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 90 p 3

[ND report: "Topical Data on Radiation Contamination"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—In 1988, the GDR population was exposed to an average radiation of 3.8 millisievert [mSv], of which 3.0 mSv come from natural sources—from space, as well as from earth. The difference of 0.8 mSv is due to artificially produced radiation; the use of radiation in medicine has a share of more than 97 percent in this. One lung X-ray alone provides a dose of 0.3 mSv. Only the remaining three percent came from the operation of nuclear plants, the Chernobyl reactor accident, and other sources.

This information was provided by representatives of the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection [SAAS] to the media on 8 February, which, at the same time, were given the 1988 SAAS annual report on environmental radioactivity. The acceptable threshold for the exposure of the population to artificial radiation is one mSv. The resulting risk of dying of a disease caused by radiation after decades can be compared with the risk of suffering a fatal work accident while doing easy work in an office or in the textile industry. It was stressed that the amounts of emission from GDR nuclear facilities generally are considerably below the SAAS threshold, which, for its part, is still below the generally recognized thresholds. During malfunctions in the Nord Nuclear Power Plant, one-tenth of this lower permitted annual emission was released at the most.

Higher radiation doses on GDR territory are mainly due to uranium mining and related contamination from the past. In this respect, the SAAS is trying to make sure that waste rock is generally no longer used as construction material and that radiation protection will be improved at the gravitational settlers of the mining enterprises. In general, an increased incidence of pulmonary cancer cannot be noted in the GDR's southern areas.

New Newspaper Published in Sachsem-Ansalt

LD1002234590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1925 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Another new weekly paper with the title MAGDEBURGER will appear today in the Halle and Magdeburg Areas. The paper, with a print run of 100,000 copies, describes itself as the paper for Sachsen-Anhalt. The paper is printed in Paderborn. The initiators are the "Catholic Coordination Group" and independent economic experts.

Sport-Technology Society Resigns

AU1002160890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "GST Central Executive Committee Resigns"]

[Text] Berlin—The Central Executive Committee of the Society for Sport and Technology [GST] resigned at its special meeting on the weekend 27-28 January, and together with it the Secretariat, which consisted primarily of active officers of the National People's Army [NVA]. As is stressed in a statement on this move, the old body thereby intends to pave the way for a credible process of renewal that would have to be supported by the grass roots as well as by political and social forces outside the organization. After abolishing the premilitary training and disbanding the facilities and administrative structures connected with it, only the traditional sports with a technical-sporting profile will be developed and promoted.

Following a businesslike and often controversial discussion on the work of the GST as an umbrella organization of sports associations, a 40-member work committee was elected. Ten additional seats are reserved for parties and citizens' movements. It was decided that until the special sports congress in April 1990, the organization will be named GST—Federation of Technical Sports Associations.

Soviet Air Force To Leave Debrecen in May

LD1502232490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The population of Debrecen has been protesting against the operation of the Soviet military airfield for a long time. The National Assembly allowed until 31 December [1990] for its closure. Erika Farkas reports on the latest news from Debrecen:

[Farkas] The Soviet Air Force unit is to leave Debrecen in May. One of the department heads of the southern Army group said this to the town council today.

The withdrawal has already started. The Soviet Army has given back its real estate in Gyoengyoesi Street to the Hungarian People's Army, which in the near future will probably be bought back by the council, sinced it was they who sold it at the time.

The living quarters on Szabadsag street will also be emptied and given back. As I have already mentioned, heavy machinery was banned from the airport as of May, and the establishment will also become the property of the Hungarian People's Army, but talks are already underway for its utilization for civilian purposes at a later date.

The final date of the evacuation is still uncertain, for the Soviet soldiers stationed here have neither jobs nor homes in the Soviet Union for the time being, thus they will move in together and await their return home in small numbers.

But even so, by May, 63 flats will be liberated which will be disposed of by the local council.

MDF Meets USSR Embassy Officials on Troops

LD1502135190 Budapest MTI in English 1057 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Denes Csengey, board member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF/MDF], has held talks at the Soviet Embassy in Budapest with Envoy-Counsellor Vladlen Puntus, Counsellor Igor Savolsky and First Secretary Vyacheslav Nemcev about issues relating to the spring manoeuvres of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

In a statement released on February 6, the National Board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum expressed concern over the spring military exercises of Soviet troops and demanded manoeuvres be suspended so that the elections could go ahead amidst a calm atmosphere.

Speaking to MTI's correspondent about his talks at the Soviet Embassy, Denes Csengey said he had made it clear that the HDF's protest against the Soviet exercises was not intended to incite unjustified fear in Hungarians nor to be an "election bombshell." On the other hand, the HDF does not find it reassuring when the commandership of the Southern Soviet Army Group says it plans no military manoeuvres, while shooting, tank, air and other exercises are going ahead according to schedule.

In response to Csengey's proposal to suspend shooting, tank and firing exercises until the elections, the Soviet diplomats pointed out there would be no firing exercises whatsoever, driving tests on public roads had been discontinued, and further steps were planned to check shooting exercises. They said troops were to be concentrated in future exclusively in preparation for the pullout, and staff officers of the Southern Soviet Army Group had been sent to the units to ensure order.

With regard to the "open door" events to be held at Soviet garrisons in Esztergom, Veszprem and other towns over the weekend, Denes Csengey proposed issuing a dispatch to either the commander of the Southern Soviet Army Group or the unit commanders about the desired conduct during the election campaign. The Soviet side did not reject the idea.

A top Southern Soviet Army Group officer is also expected to face the press this weekend.

Asked whether the HDF was satisfied with what they had learnt from the Soviet Embassy, Denes Csengey said that although the briefing was carried out and the Forum's proposals considered in a proper fashion, the HDF would not rest completely assured as long as its rural organizations register Soviet troops movements and shooting exercises. Csengey said he would be trying to find time to go to the weekend open days. [as received]

Soviet Envoy Meets Social Democratic Party Head

LD1402023390 Budapest MTI in English 2139 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Discussions were held on Tuesday, by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, with Anna Petrasivits, president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH).

The diplomat informed Ms Petrasovits on the Soviet home political situation and the recent session of the CPSU CC [Central Committee], while the party president informed on the West Berlin conference of the Federation of Social Democratic Parties of the EC.

FRG Ambassador Visits Tolna German Community

LD1402022790 Budapest MTI in English 2136 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Hungary, Dr Alexander Arnot, was paying a two-day familiarisation visit to ethnic German communities of Tolna County, and gave a press briefing at the German Theatre at Szekszard on Tuesday.

He spoke in appreciation of the German class he listened to at the secondary school of Gyonk. German education was also introduced in the local kindergarten, and elementary school. At Gyorkony the ambassador attended the guest performance by the German Theatre, half of this village's population is German, and German education has been introduced in both the kindergarten and elementary school of this village as well.

Mr Arnot met with council of economic leaders of the country [as received], including representatives of various parties, to whom he reported that the embassy wishes to contribute to the further strengthening of economic, political and cultural ties between the two countries. They are also endeavouring to assist the setting up of new joint companies, and improve links between schools of the FRG and Hungary.

German Reunification Plans Analyzed

AU1502141290 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Feb 90 p 1

[Imre Tatar editorial: "Europe and the Germans"]

[Text] What kind of Germany would suit Europe? A strange question at a time when nations and movements are changing their fate in such a turbulent way, by upsetting previous estimates and by evaluating others' opinions. Half a year ago everyone regarded this as a distant goal (danger), and today German unification is imminent. Europe and the other powers interested in Europe are now questioning themselves with slight confusion about what they should do with this phenomenon, with a new state of 80 million people. Since Chancellor Kohl's lightening visit to Moscow, it has now become clear that today nobody questions the German people's right to self-determination, but various countries and groups are coming up with proposals and warnings which reflect their intention to have their say in this process, primarily in the location of such a state in Europe, a state that will have increased weight and which will redraw the map.

The original desire in Moscow was that it should be neutral. Sometime in 1945, at the Potsdam conference, the victorious powers indeed outlined such a future Germany, but events developed in another direction. Each side had its "own" German state. The West continues to recognize the justification of the concern that, if a new state of 80 million people took over the military role of today's FRG, the Soviet Union would regard this as upsetting its security system. Therefore, they propose a solution in which the new Germany would be a member of NATO but no Western forces would be deployed on the territory of today's GDR.

The Western allies would not agree to neutralizing Germany. The times have passed in which the German-French confrontation was the cause of constant conflicts and wars; nor is Great Britain only an observer from the other side of the channel trying to hold the continent's political threads in its hands by engaging in balancing games. Today, they are all members of a close political and economic alliance, but, nevertheless, all of them (the French, British, and Americans) would feel uncomfortable if the new Germany slipped out of this system of cooperation and mutual control. Kissinger said that if the new Germany became neutral, nationalism could rise there, as well as the desire for the road of a separate power. Obviously, the former U.S. secretary of state has in mind the events between the two world wars, although both the situation and this state are totally different today compared with those days. Besides, the FRG does not wish to become neutral.

The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France will not give up their opportunity to have a say in this affair despite the existing, favorable historical circumstances. In fact, they want to assert their interests in shaping the future Europe; formally, the right to do this is given to them by the fact that, as the victors, they were unable to sign a peace treaty with Germany because Germany was split into two states. Ever since then, the victorious allies have felt common responsibility for the German people's state. Their military presence on German territory clearly reflects this concern. The Soviet Union sticks to this cooperation of the four powers even more so because, slowly, this will become the only justification left for the deployment of Soviet troops beyond their borders to counterbalance the U.S. forces stationed in Europe.

Talking about the future, one should not restrict oneself to the responsibility of the four powers or to the military blocs. A new European structure is being formed which is gradually reducing its military preparedness to the smallest level possible and is creating identical or similar political regimes in East and West, and a continent-sized cooperation is taking shape by means of economies that can adjust to each other. As early as one year ago, Bonn said that they wanted to create German unity in the framework of a uniform Europe and as a result of such a uniform Europe and fundamentally with the general rapprochement and assimilation that would occur throughout the entire continent. The German question should be part of the European question.

This order was not justified by events. The events came under the pressure of the GDR uprising, and not at Bonn's insistence, or even less at Berlin's insistence. Things change: Today the masses are urging the politicians to act faster, for instance at the Vienna conference on European security. This is reflected in President Bush's comprehensive troop withdrawal proposals and the disappearance of Gorbachev's essential reservations. However, changes in the order of things should not change the goal and the absolute need and advantage of having this reunification take place within a European framework and adjust to the process of security and cooperation that started in Helsinki in 1975, and which has since led to difficult but successful agreements and has become the only pan-European institution. Negotiations on a considerable reduction of conventional armed

forces are currently being held in Vienna in this framework, and an important agreement will probably be signed by the highest ranking leaders in the second half of this year. In addition to the disarmament agreement, the German issue will be the main subject of discussions at this summit: to have the agreement of the 35 members in order to find a place for the new Germany in Europe.

People in many capitals say that we should stay ahead of things that cannot be changed. German reunification cannot be stopped, and according to uniform international opinion, the ways and timing of this reunification should be left up to them. However, Europe wants to have a say in the international aspects of this process. The Helsinki security process is the best and probably the only venue for this.

Recently, Brzezinski proposed the creation of a CSSR-Polish alliance, an obstacle behind (or in front of) the new Germany. With sour resignation, Kissinger also proposed a neutral buffer zone with the participation of Hungary, the CSSR, and Poland. Listening to these proposals, one's first reaction is that we should not allow the creation of a Germany that requires a "cordon sanitaire" from the outset. Hopefully, the aforementioned two American politicians represent a way of thinking of the 19th century and of the first half of the 20th century, and not that of a future Europe. (Perhaps they are realists.) One thing is certain: A united Germany is imminent. Europe's task is to create the conditions for friendly and useful cooperation with the new Germany. The task of the FRG and the GDR is to find a gradual and peaceful way for their reunification.

Agreement Signed With U.S. Peace Corps

LD1502003490 Budapest MTI in English 1854 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—Ferenc Glatz, Hungarian minister of culture and national education, and Donald Kursch, the representative of the United States' Peace Corps in Hungary, signed an intergovernmental agreement in Budapest on Wednesday on the Hungarian activity of the organization.

The event was attended by Jon Keeton, development director of the Corps, and Vance Hydman, newly appointed director for Hungary.

Parallelly, in Washington, a reception was held by Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to mark the occasion. The event was attended by Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian ambassador to Washington, Senator Tom Lantos and Mark Palmer, former U.S. ambassador to Hungary.

The agreement will make it possible for Peace Corps volunteers to work in Hungary in the field of language instruction, environmental protection and social work. The project will start in the summer with the arrival of sixty volunteers. In the course of the next five years, altogether four hundred volunteers more will be coming to Hungary.

Mineral Oil Bought From Iraq; Trade Improves

LD1402115690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] In exchange for a $15 million Hungarian credit balance, frozen for many years, we have brought 210,000 tonnes of mineral oil from Iraq to make up for the missing Soviet deliveries. The National Mineral Oil and Gas Industry Trust has concluded further agreements on export deliveries, while in Iraq the position of Hungarian trade has improved considerably.

More on Grosz Attack in Leninvaros

LD1502131190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—Former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz had a very unpleasant experience in Leninvaros where around 1,000 demonstrators, who were against his participation in a debate on the economic difficulties of the region on local television.

The demonstrators began pushing and even hitting Grosz on his arrival, shouting that they were "fed up with those who had ruined the country".

Grosz was saved by the organizers of the TV talk show, but the debate was not held.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party said it would bring charges against the initiators of the protest and the Leninvaros police.

Interior Ministry Official on Incident

LD1502134390 Budapest Dometic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] As reported yesterday, nearly 1,000 people demonstrated in Leninvaros outside the Derkovics Cultural center and the local television studio. The participants of the demonstration, organized by the Hungarian Democratic forum [MDF] were protesting against—or rather they were preventing—Karoly Grosz taking part in a studio debate as a representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP].

Following the demonstration, about 200 people awaited the arrival of the former party general secretary and premier. They surrounded him, pushed him, and allegedly even struck him—though this was later denied by the MSZMP. Gyula Thurmer, the party's current chairman, is today visiting the Soviet Command at Hajmasker as part of his election campaign; he is the parliamentary candidate for Veszprem's number seven constituency.

Our reporter Gyula Horvath first asked him about the incident in Leninvaros:

[Begin Thurmer recording] This morning I held a telephone conversation with Zoltan Gal, state secretary at the Interior Ministry, and I requested that the affair be investigated. It is difficult to say precisely what political forces took part in this demonstration, but according to the indications, the participants were MDF activists, while others, too, were there. I believe that this is a crude vioaltion of the electoral ethical codex. I also protested to the state secretary that the police did not intervene, and did not prevent the events taking such a turn. [end recording]

[Horvath] On the occasion of the visit to the Hajmasker barracks, Major General Oganyan Bakhterovich, deputy training commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group, told Gyula Thurmer that they have made preparations for vacating the Hajmasker barracks by the end of the year, and with this the military maneuvers that disturb the population will cease in the country's biggest maneuver field, the region extending from Herend to Varpolota.

Party Officials Comment

LD1602093290 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—The Leninvaros branch of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] has dissociated itself from the atrocities committed after the Wednesday night demonstration against Karoly Grosz, MTI was told on Thursday by Laszlo Timmer, head of the local HDF branch.

He said the demonstration organized by the HDF in protest to Mr Grosz's presence ended at about six or half past six p.m. It was, however, made clear that a HDF representative would be willing to participate in the local televised debate together with the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary.

At half past six, the demonstrators were called on to leave the square. The police had also been repeatedly reported to on the events and atmosphere in the square, but the people had not left until Mr Grosz's arrival at quarter to eight. When Mr Grosz tried to push his way through the crowd, HDF organizers were trying to guard his body, as well as quiet the people.

Balint Magyar of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said, 'I am sorry the debate with Mr Grosz had to be cancelled. Protest against individuals cannot be a means of the democratic transformation.'

Andras Bozoki, press spokesman for the Federation of Young Democrats [FYD], said, 'a fundamental goal of the FYD is to fight against political hysteria, and the Young Democrats can in no way identify with manifestations which prevent the free expression of opinion.

HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] spokesman Viktor Polgar, said 'The HSP cannot accept that the representative of a constitutional party - no matter which - could be physically threatened. The party which organized the demonstration should take the full responsibility for the situation which had come about.'

SDPH [Social Democratic Party of Hungary] press chief Sandor Csurdi said, 'The Social Democratic Party of Hungary does not consider democratic a party which applies methods like this against its political opponents.'

Explosive Device Found in Army Store

LD1502003390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Summary] An explosive device was found over the weekend at one of the People's Army's explosives stores. Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti told television that the home-made explosive device was found during a routine check over the weekend. Weekly and also unscheduled checks are carried out on the stores. The device did not go off because a faulty fuse had been fitted, but had it exploded it could have caused enormous damage.

Investigations started immediately, with the military prosecution also calling in the police. A search was held at the apartment of a conscript serving there, and explosives and material suitable for the manufacture of such an explosive device were found there. His name is not being revealed as he has not confessed. The location of the stores will only be revealed when the investigation is concluded.

Mazowiecki Demands Presence at Six-Power Talks

PM1502142490 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by announcer Peter Snow from a BBC 2 "Newsnight" report in London on 14 February—recorded in Polish with English subtitles]

[Text] [Snow] But the fact remains that the Europe that was shattered by Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939 has still not been formally restructured by an international postwar settlement. And so it's perhaps not surprising that the Poles, of all people, are most concerned that the lessons of history aren't forgotten in the rush to reunify Germany, as I found when the Polish prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, spoke to me earlier today.

[Mazowiecki] History never repeats itself, but history is something we must learn from. In my opinion, we must try desperately to avoid the mistakes of the 1930's. This is in the interests of both Europe and the Germans themselves.

[Snow] Does the prospect of a new united Germany—remembering the lessons of the 1920's and 1930's—does it frighten you, prime minister?

[Mazowiecki] I don't think there is any threat to us at the moment. I believe West Germany, in particular, has been through a long process of democratization, but that is not in itself enough to make us confident about the future. The surfacing of forces like the Republican Party must serve as a warning to us, and of course we don't know the direction East German political forces will take, because democratic traditions are not so well established there as in West Germany, so I believe we should be cautious, prudent, and farsighted, and that our main concern be clearly defined borders of a unified Germany. We must leave no room for ambiguity.

[Snow] And Poland's prime minister is against neutrality, too.

[Mazowiecki] We don't believe a state as large as a unified Germany could remain permanently neutral. We fear a Germany that has chosen neutrality might repeat its earlier mistakes. We believe that it might provoke an unfavorable reaction. It would be better if Germany were tied to a general European structure: Not just to NATO, but to a general European solution.

[Snow] It's the resolving of these awkward issues that will now be the job of the new six-power group that was agreed in Canada. It's an agreement that's been widely welcomed as providing the best formula for putting a stamp on the reshaping of Europe, though the Poles, as we'll see in a moment, are upset that they'll be excluded from this group. Essentially, what the foreign ministers of East and West decided in Ottawa was to revive the role of the four powers who occupied Germany at the end of the Second World War and whose headquarters in Berlin again became the focus of attention recently when the Soviets called for a meeting of the wartime victors there. What the four powers would do is to meet with the two Germanies after they've designed their new united Germany and set it into the new Europe. Most important of all will be the answer to the question raised by Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland before Christmas: He visited the territories that were part of prewar Germany but fell to Poland after Germany's defeat. Germany's borders in 1937 extended well into today's Poland, and what the Poles want is a final and unequivocal renunciation by the new united Germany of those prewar German claims on Poland. And Mr Mazowiecki insists that Poland should not be excluded from the six-power meeting that decides this.

[Mazowiecki] It is clearly stated in the Ottawa communique that the six will discuss the security of Germany's neighbors: Poland must be present at such talks.

[Snow] Has the West German Government been clear and specific enough about where it believes your western frontier runs?

[Mazowiecki] At the time of Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland I tried to make him understand that to Poles it sounds different if you say: "I am for the present border and that I will be for it after reunification" but then say "I accept the present border, but I cannot speak for the future."

OPZZ Backs Mazowiecki Stance on Germanys

LD1502215390 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—Poles follow with greatest attention the processes leading to German unification, reads the statement published today by the executive committee of All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ).

The right of every nation to self-determination is an inalienable value. We think that although the shape of a future German state should be determined by Germans, the interests of European security, of the countries neighbouring on the German states in particular, must be taken into account in the process of unification. Among them Poland has special rights to speak on the issue because of her historical experiences.

Therefore, on behalf of millions of OPZZ members we fully support the initiative of Poland's Government, expressed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, that Poland should take part in conference on Germany unification along with four powers and the two German states.

We believe that decisions on questions of the highest importance for Poland will not be made without Poles, the OPZZ statement concludes.

Jaruzelski on 'Life and Death' Nature of Borders

LD1502191490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] President Wojciech Jaruzelski, in an interview for the West German television station, ARD, has addressed the matter of the unification of Germany and our Western borders. Here is part of the interview:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We have always maintained the view that every nation has the right to self-determination. The German nation has such a right, but of course, we understand that parallel to this is the right of other nations for a secure existence, and especially the Polish nation, which has had harsh historical experiences and for which guarantees of, for instance, the permanence of borders, is a question of life and death. If I may perhaps briefly make this comment: For Germany, the lands that currently belong to Poland, the Polish Western territories, are in fact a question that is, I would say, rather a historical-sentimental question. Well, and perhaps a card in the electoral game. For Poland, this is a question of life and death, this is one third of our territory, this is one third of the populace, this is 85 percent of our access to the sea. [end recording]

Soviet Envoy Reassures Jaruzelski on Germany

LD1502193790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] I quote: The Soviet Union takes account, in its entirety, of the external aspects of the establishment of German unity, including the problem of the security of neighboring states. This applies particularly to Poland. These are the words of Ambassador Brovikov, who informed President Jaruzelski about the activities of the Soviet Union in the international arena associated with the talks in Moscow between U.S. Secretary of State Baker and FRG Chancellor Kohl. The president accepted with satisfaction the information given him, simultaneously expressing the conviction that the Soviet Union will consistently be the spokesman of a treaty resolution of the German problem, including in this the confirmation of the inviolability of borders in Europe. President Jaruzelski, pointing to the principle of nothing about us without us, recognized as indispensible the participation of Poland in the envisaged negotiations on the subject of the unification of Germany.

Soviet Envoy Briefs Mazowiecki on Recent Talks

LD1602000990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki also received Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov, who informed the premier about the course of recent talks between FRG Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, and FRG Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in Moscow; and (the talks) by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki presented Poland's stance regarding the prospects of German unification, stressing the need to guarantee our country's participation, within the formula agreed in Ottawa for conducting international negotiations on this issue.

Walesa Does Not Foresee 'Danger' From Germany

LD1602001290 Warsaw PAP in English 2227 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—Western news agencies have reported on Thursday night on Lech Walesa's conversation with foreign newsmen held at the seat of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club in Warsaw.

While referring to Poland's participation in a conference on Germany's reunification, proposed by the government, and to be attended by the four great powers and the two German states, the Solidarnosc leader said "One should know what role Poland could play." "I think," he continued, "that Poland's effectiveness could not be too large at this moment. On the other hand, Poland should closely follow what is going on in Germany to make it possible to eliminate immediately all elements that could destabilize the situation."

Lech Walesa, the news agencies report, said also that "he does not envisage any danger from Germany, as Europe has had too many bad experiences to let Germany be a danger." In this connection he said that "He will do all in his power to get the Soviet troops out of Poland as quickly as possible."

Skubiszewski on German Reunification

LD1502155890 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT 14 Feb 90

["By PAP Correspondent Adolf Reut"]

[Text] Ottawa, Feb. 14—Poland accepts questions of the reunification of the two German states as a real fact. As every nation, Germans have the right to self-determination. However, this process takes place in a definite situation and under concrete conditions rather than in a political vacuum. This is a fact with definite consequences that the division of Germany, although artificial, persisted for decades. Poland meets halfway various Western proposals, counting on reciprocity, taking into account and respecting Polish reasons. Questioning of Poland's western border cannot take place in any sense. There is no room for any doubts on this question.

These are only some statements made public by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski during numerous meetings and talks on the last day of his stay here in connection with the ministerial part of the "Open Skies" international conference under way here.

This morning, Canadian Vice-Premier and Agriculture Minister Don Mazankowski met Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The talks lasted almost an hour.

Minister Skubiszewski also met with representatives of Canadian Poles. Earlier, the head of Polish diplomacy met president of the Polish-Canadian congress and at the same time president of the Polonia of the free world Stanislaw Orlowski.

The Polish foreign minister had also time to comply with requests of a group of journalists accredited at the "open skies" conference to meet them at a press conference. Because Skubiszewski had little time, this was in principle a briefing that lasted more than half an hour but made it possible to give a first hand and direct explanation of the stand of Polish diplomacy and Polish Government on the most important questions in the international arena today.

This afternoon, Minister Skubiszewski left Ottawa, heading back home.

Further Remarks

LD1502214290 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski returned to Warsaw from Ottawa today where he had attended the "Open Skies" conference of the foreign ministers from the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

The conference provided a chance to exchange opinions on Germany unification and journalists asked the minister about that upon his return to Poland.

I agreed with representatives of four great powers, that is with Ministers Shevardnadze, Dumas, Hurd and Baker, Skubiszewski said, that during talks on the external aspects of Germany unification, which is a very general formula, the interests of countries neighbouring on Germany must be taken into account. It was the first signal on my part that we are interested in the talks.

The Polish stand stems from the fact that the problem of the border, which is the most important one, should be considered as a element of the European order, the minister continued.

Up till now the agreement reached between the two German states and the four powers provides that only they will participate in the talks at the present stage. I stress, at the present stage, which indicates that there will be a next stage, of course. I say this both in the German context and in the context of a conference of the 35 CSCE countries—the countries of Europe, the U.S. and Canada, Minister Skubiszewski stated.

The foreign minister said that it is too early yet to settle the question of Poland's efforts to be included in the conference of the six. The group is not organized yet, the four powers have a very general idea of talks on Germany unification. When the right moment comes, we will present our stand, Skubiszewski said.

Asked about the possibility for signing a peace treaty with both German states in future, Minister Skubiszewski said that there are no chances for that at present, because Bonn has always talked about a peace treaty with united Germany.

Poland is prepared to take part in negotiations on a peace treaty with united Germany. She is also ready to sign such a treaty that would be in tune with her interests. The idea of a peace treaty did not meet with great response among the participants in the Ottawa meeting, which does not mean that it was rejected, Krzysztof Skubiszewski stated.

GDR's Modrow Arrives; Met by Mazowiecki

LD1602092390 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—GDR Premier Hans Modrow has begun one-day working visit to Poland today. At Warsaw's Okecie Airport he was welcomed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Modrow will talk with President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Mazowiecki. He is also expected to address the Sejm (lower house of parliament) and take a stance on the key questions of the Polish-German relations including the final character of the Odra-Nysa border.

Modrow, Mazowiecki Confer

LD1602102490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow met with his Polish counterpart, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, for a talk in Warsaw this morning. The meeting is attended by the deputy foreign minsters of the two countries, Harry Ott and Boleslaw Kulski. It is reported that bilateral and intra-German relations as well as international issues were discussed.

Earlier the GDR premier laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Modrow, Mazowiecki Describe Talks

LD1602131290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1219 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Relations between the two German states were at the center of a talk between the Polish and GDR prime ministers, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Hans Modrow, in Warsaw today. Hans Modrow told the press that they proceeded on the assumption that the 1950 Zgorzelec Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty constitute the foundation to which the two German states should feel committed. Tadeusz Mazowiecki described the talk as very open and productive. He underlined the moral

right of his country to take part in the two plus four consultations on the issues which directly affect Poles. Both heads of government voiced support for further deepening relations and cooperation between their countries.

Army Daily Calls for Western Border Guarantee

AU1602112390 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Jerzy Markowski commentary: "A German Toast Drunk With Soviet Champagne"]

[Text] Chancellor Kohl had something to celebrate when he left Moscow. It is true that Russian champagne was drunk when the toast to German reunification was proposed on board the chancellor's plane as he flew back from the Soviet Union. His talks at the Kremlin with Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze—which lasted for six hours—had "opened up the road to reunification," stated the Chancellor later in Bonn. The Soviet authorities will not interfere in the reunification process, and its pace and fine details will be left to the Germans to decide. GDR Premier Hans Modrow's visit to Bonn is part of this process, although the main work will begin after 18 March—namely, after the upcoming elections in the GDR.

The outcome of these elections, which also have the character of a plebiscite, cannot be in doubt. In January 1990, some 50,000 GDR citizens left the GDR and moved to the FRG. This fact speaks volumes. If we also ponder the slogans painted on banners that are hoisted regularly during demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin, one cannot possibly entertain any illusions as to the outcome of these elections. The only question which remains is: "What will the united Germany be like?"

Based on present information, this Germany will be neither neutral nor demilitarized. Even Hans Modrow has chosen to abandon these concepts. The West did not "buy" his proposals—proposals which had a strong Soviet accent and were known to be supported by the Soviets. The USSR proposed similar solutions in the 1950's. After Kohl's visit, it is clear that the Soviet leadership has accepted the fact that a neutral Germany is simply not feasible. Thus, we must assume that the alternative of anchoring the reunified Germany within NATO and the EEC was accepted. If this is so, how are Soviet interests to be safeguarded? The GDR will be plucked from the fold of the Warsaw Pact. Thus, what will be the fate of the Warsaw Pact? What is to happen to the 380,000 Soviet soldiers presently stationed in the GDR? These are the detailed questions that must be answered. The answers will probably be given at the Vienna talks and during the European summit—that is, Helsinki 2. At present, one cannot totally exclude the paradoxical situation whereby limited contingents of NATO and Soviet troops would remain stationed on the territory of the reunified Germany, stated Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski following his return from the FRG. A solution might be adopted whereby NATO would not extend its zone beyond the line of the Elbe and Wieser Rivers—all violations would be regarded as an act of war. And the, let us say, 50,000-strong Soviet contingent would remain east of the mentioned line for a period of time which still has to be agreed. This scenario fails to clarify the role of the united German Armed Forces (FRG Minister of Defense Stolltenberg has already announced a selective admission of personnel from the GDR Armed Forces into the FRG's Bundeswehr), but it is difficult to imagine that this united army would turn into a benevolent Salvation Army....

If the process of German unification continues at its present pace, it will overtake the process of European unification. After his Moscow visit, Kohl introduced another and a previously missing piece of the reunification puzzle—the time scale. Kohl now foresees that unification will take some two years. The Soviet Union has agreed to make a fundamental concession on the German question. It is faced by mounting internal difficulties. Poland is in the middle. What does this imply? We do not have to spell it out. Let us also note the fact that in nearly all reunification suggestions there has only been talk "of safeguarding Soviet security interests." Maybe this is oversensitivity on our part, but are these interests automatically assumed to be identical with Polish security interests, especially at the present time? We are the ones who will be the future Germany's nearest neighbor. It would be a good idea if a Polish drink were also to be part of the champagne toasts, especially at that moment when Poland's western borders receive firm guarantees. This particular matter must not be left to be decided in the indefinite future.

Solidarity Daily on German Reunification Issue

AU1602120890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Feb 90 p 1

[Janusz Reiter commentary: "Moscow's Yes"]

[Text] In 1955, when Konrad Adenauer became the first FRG chancellor to visit Moscow, he was reminded that Moscow was where the key to the German problem lay. Adenauer could have brought back that key if he had paid the going price at the time—German neutrality and Germany's separation from the West. The chancellor said no. Helmut Kohl brought back the key, or at any rate he was given an assurance that he would receive it. A final price has not been fixed yet, but Kohl made it clear that neutrality will not come into it.

The Soviet Union has decided to act quickly, because the price that it can get for German unification is falling. The GDR is its trump card in the game. The value of the trump card began to decline as soon as the GDR revolution brought down the Socialist Unity Party authorities and the other bastions of the old system to finally demand unification. It is true that the Soviet Union has divisions in East Germany, but they are of little political value in an atmosphere of detente as they cannot be used

to check revolution. So, Moscow acted according to the "if you cannot beat them, join them" principle. This explains the sudden turnabout in Soviet policy.

Of course, this marks the beginning of the game rather than the end. Agreeing to unification means shedding the burden of the hard-line position that has been maintained until now. The issue that remains to be resolved is of fundamental importance: How is unification to take place, and what will a Europe with a united Germany look like.

The main issue is how will Germans arrive at national unity: Will they do so alone or together with a Europe that is in the process of uniting. The neutrality of which Eduard Shevardnadze spoke so highly in Moscow prompts the greatest misgivings. It would divorce the German problem from its European context.

Germany's neighbors, in both the West and the East, view this kind of solution with understandable caution. Both sets of neighbors are interested in participating in a process that will lead to Germany's unification. West Europe wants to accompany Germany in order to discreetly watch over the Germans. Of course, this will be even more difficult now, but if a united Germany can be at all controlled, it could only be done through various forms of integration of as general a European character as possible.

The Eastern neighbors also want to follow the road that the Germans will go down to provide a constant reminder that the road is to produce a solution to a European problem and not just a German one.

The Soviet Union does, of course, have a right to have its interests respected. German unification cannot proceed in a manner that would bring unilateral gains for the West—that is, by absorbing the GDR into NATO and shifting the boundary between the two blocs to the Odra and Nysa. The unification of Germany places the question of a new balance of forces on today's agenda. The new balance of forces has to be defined in a way that will not give rise to a new division into spheres of influence, but will pave the way to cooperation involving all of Europe.

Senate Postpones German Unification Discussion

LD1602120890 Warsaw PAP in English 1138 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—The agenda of today's Senate meeting was supplemented with a Senate legislative initiative to make May 3rd, the day of passing Poland's first democratic constitution in 1791, a holiday.

The chamber also resolved to postpone the discussion on Germany's unification and said that (?it) would be too early to adopt a stand on the matter before it was discussed by Sejm and Senate foreign committees.

Siwicki Statement on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1502190890 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—In relation to the USSR authorities' declaration expressing readiness for talks on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, Poland's Minister of National Defence General Florian Siwicki conveyed to PAP the following statement:

I think that every state considers stationing foreign troops at its territory, even if they are units of an allied army, as a special and temporary situation. It is so in Poland as well. The problem however should be viewed in the political and strategic dimension.

Up til now, the Armed Forces' units of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the Soviet and American ones including, have been stationed in a number of European countries. For instance, the northern group of the Soviet Army numbering some 50,000 soldiers has been stationed in Poland. It performs mainly logistic functions for the western group of the Soviet Army in the GDR. Thus it is an element in the alignment which ensures military balance in that strategic part of our continent.

Our national reason of state requires a wise approach to that complex and important problem, whose dimension is wider than Polish alone.

We expect that further progress in disarmament negotiations on conventional weapons will subsequently permit to reduce Soviet forces in Poland.

On the other hand, however, stormy processes at our western neighbors' may proceed towards a change in the hitherto alignment of forces in a short time. Therefore, I think, that the question of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, obvious in future, should be approached cautiously, without emotions, with the Polish interests, that is security of our country, guarantees of the inviolability of its borders, in mind in the first place, Minister Siwicki stated.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on UK Visit Results

LD1502165690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by "special correspondent" Beata Michniewicz during flight from London to Warsaw on 14 February—recorded]

[Text] [Michniewicz] Yesterday evening at a meeting in the Hammersmith Town Hall with the British Polonia, one of the ladies there, looking at you, said: Good God, why does the premier smile so little? Was that more due to fatigue or an uncertainty as to the results of the visit?

[Mazowiecki] I don't know. It's difficult to say. I'm also asked the same thing in Poland. After all, perhaps it's a result of my character and not necessarily the situation. I am a character who objects to any kind of artificial

smiles, I think it's more because of that. But I didn't have any reasons not to smile yesterday as I was satisfied.

[Michniewicz] At the news conference you said that Mrs. Thatcher and you had reached agreement, full agreement, on political matters. Did you also agree on Poland's participation in the conference of six, where Poland would be the next state which takes part in the German conference?

[Mazowiecki] I presented our point of view and argumentation, both moral and political, on the basis of which Poland should be present, when the matter of the security of Germany's neighbors is being considered, to Mrs. Thatcher. Mrs. Thatcher shared my point of view, completely.

[Michniewicz] That means she's going to support Poland's efforts.

[Mazowiecki] I think so, yes. I'm sure.

[Michniewicz] On economic matters Mrs. Thatcher promised to consider all the Polish proposals. But is there anything specific yet? Are those matters going to be examined at lower levels later on?

[Mazowiecki] We put forward three specific issues: The first is credit guarantees from the UK Government for short-term credits from British financial institutions. This issue is important for us as it will enable us to take up certain... strengthen pro-production measures. The British treasury's stance is favorable to that, and I spoke to Mrs. Thatcher about this, who following opinions from her specialists, will take a final position. But her initial impression was favorable.

That's the first matter. The second is the matter of the enterprise development fund, specifically speaking, a fund which would be used to privatize enterprises in Poland. We have in mind a fund supported by international finance, as we ourselves don't have enough means here. It is a question of UK participation in it. I think we'll also get Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's support here. Finally, the third matter is our debt. Today, talks were started at the Paris Club. I sent a letter to the premiers or presidents of all the Polish creditor states. We are concerned about initiating a process, and thus creating a working group which would deal with substantiating this matter. Our requests are two-fold here: one is to defer payment of our debts at present—not to charge interest; and the second is to find solutions agreed on in the Paris Club dealing with these or other forms of reducing our debt.

[Michniewicz] You also said today that all your meetings, starting with those with businessmen and ending with an audience with the heir to the throne, were accompanied by great interest in Polish affairs. What do you think, was that more a result of an affinity for Poland or people having in mind future business with Poland?

[Mazowiecki] I think both. Businessmen are not people who are directed by mere affinities, but by business. And I think absolutely that it is a result of economic premises, capabilities of the Polish market, and an assumption that aid to our economic effort will simply pay off. I also have to add that in Great Bratin, and in particular with Prime Minister Thatcher, I have met with great understanding for our economic program, for its radicalism and for the consistency with which we are trying to implement it. Besides those elements of economic interest, there are also elements of affinity which are connected both with changes taking place today in Central Europe, as well as with (?general), I would say, a historical affinity referring to Polish-British relations. This affinity, or historical roots, are stronger than I would have expected.

[Michniewicz] During these three days you met with different representatives of the Polish Polonia on several occasions. What impressions did you have during these meetings? Undoubtedly, they were very moving.

[Mazowiecki] They were very moving; both yesterday's mass meeting as well as the one before which was held in the Polish Cultural and Social Center, as was the final one held virtually during the last hour of my visit in London when I arrived at the Polish Airmen's Memorial. They were very moving, certainly proof of the fact that there has been an important breakthrough here.

I also spoke for a long time, concerning the conditions, with Mr. Edward Raczynski, [former emigre president] who is now a very elderly person; he's 98. However, we held a serious political discussion for a dozen or so minutes. He asked me about various things. I spoke on the telephone to Mr. Kaczorowski [president of the Polish emigre government] and I spoke to Mrs. Lidia Ciolkoszowa [wife of the eminent Polish socialist, Adam Ciolkosz, and Polish emigre leader in London]. I think we can talk about a certain breakthrough in relations between Polish emigres everywhere. Naturally the Polish emigre centers in the London government consider it necesary to continue maintaining their symbolic presence. However, it is no longer a situation of enmity, and that is also important. But generally if we are talking about the climate of the emigration, that meeting yesterday best of all reflected the atmosphere. It is a very good climate, I would say, a climate of trust.

[Michniewicz] And great understanding can be seen, an understanding of Polish matters and I would even say certain nuances.

[Mazowiecki] That's probably right. A lot of understanding.

[Michniewicz] Thank you.

Miller Defends Social Democracy's Identity

AU1402143890 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Speech by Leszek Miller, secretary general of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, at a meeting of the Committee in Warsaw on 11 February]

[Text] The Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] was not born during a few hours of congressional talks. It is the result of years of effort by reformist forces inside the Polish United Workers Party and other left-wing circles.

The party is new because its program and rules of conduct are new, because it is not a state party or a privileged party, because it is just one party out of many parties in general and left-wing parties in particular, because it is sovereign and independent, and because it has been built from the bottom.

The SDRP shall not be a destructive opposition. The philosophy of "the worse it is, the better," a new tradition in Poland, is alien to this party. However, the party cannot shun its own identity. Therefore it should provide intelligent support for the government, but at the same time it must seek alternative solutions wherever the policies of the present cabinet raise doubts and objections.

We should support everything that encourages an expansion of democracy, the rule of law, and pluralism, and counteract any threat of a new monopoly over power and information and claims by anyone to represent the truth.

Acknowledging the need to transfer to a market economy and stifle inflation, it is essential to work out our own program of achieving economic order, based on the following conditions:

—The state is not just an observer of economic phenomena; it takes active part in their formation;
—A rejection of the idea that any one form is superior to the rest;
—Money taken out of the state budget to protect those in the poorest material circumstances;
—The recognition of unemployment as a disease of the economic system, not a normal state of affairs;
—A recognition of the nation and state's economic sovereignty, whereby we oppose the sale of national assets.

The Supreme Council should help SDRP parliamentary deputies, and indirectly the entire Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left, in developing a concept for local self-government bodies and drafting a law on supplies for pensioners and the budget law. We should suggest the urgent drafting of a draft law on the pluralist nature of radio and television.

We need an alliance with the trade unions, mainly those belonging to the National Trade Union Confederation. This cooperation should involve, among other things, an expansion of self-management, joint ownership, joint management over workplaces, and the provision of assistance to those affected by the negative consequences of the reforms.

The SDRP must wage a campaign for the adoption of local government election rules based on proportional representation. Should rules based on a simple majority be adopted, the SDRP should consider not taking part in the election.

By 15 February, the SDRP should complete its deliberations concerning the question of assets and let the government commission decide. By the end of February, the SDRP should produce a concept on the party's organization at the central and voivodship level. By the middle of March, it should create initiative groups in all those milieus where it plans to be active and then organize elections to voivodship SDRP leadership structures.

Mazowiecki Meets Walesa, Solidarity Leaders

LD1502200890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Representatives of the government have met with Lech Walesa and the Presidium of the National Executive Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

[Unidentified correspondent] There was enormous interest in this meeting. A dozen or so television teams and several dozen home and foreign journalists literally besieged Premier Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa even in front of the conference hall. Among the matters that were jointly considered were unemployment, ownership transformations, the assets of the party, and the Workers Publishing Cooperative. There was also discussion of the rather too slow changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and also in voivoda, prosecutor, and enterprise manager posts. It was stressed that parallel to the acceptance of the visible, radical changes in the economy, it is difficult to explain to people the lack of radical personnel changes. It was agreed that Solidarity will pass on to the government all signals as to improprieties in the enterprises of the whole country. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki reported on the new draft law on territorial self-government as well as on the proposal being prepared to end the mandate of the people's councils by April.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Comment on Talks

LD1502202190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1230 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Statements "for television news" by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa after a goverment-Solidarity meeting on 15 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mazowiecki] It seems to me that, from its behavior so far Solidarity understands the government

program, although it certainly looks very seriously at difficulties for itself as a trade union. The government also understands that the trade union, during the implementation of such a program, is not in an easy situation. So, the mutual understanding of the difficulties of each of these sides at the table exists. What will we be able to do to improve things? We'll see after the talks, but the familiarization at least of mutual points of view is quite simply a necessary part of the correction process or reflection for the government.

[Walesa] This is a difficult matter. We are in our own company, and this company makes us treat each other as one family. Nonetheless, we must remember that we cannot be so. The government looks in terms of the categories of all social groups, the categories of the state, but we must look in terms of the categories of our members above all, of Solidarity at this moment. These are problems. We say that we must consider how to react to all of this. We see a very radical economic reform, and this is really radical, everyone feels it. On the other hand, when we touch on other topics there is a lack of radicalism, a lack of radicalism in the resolution of ownership questions, a lack of radicalism in other resolutions, and this disturbs us, for ordinary people demand radicalism everywhere. If economically radical, then why not in the matter of the security service, for instance, or in the matter of ownership, some commissions, some long discussions, or else on the matter of voivodas and others? That is why we must find a compromise resolution that would allow understanding our role, that of a trade union, and simultaneously understanding the role of the government, which we respect, as this is after all a government with social support.

Support for Government Strong Despite Hardship

AU1302153390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Feb p 1

[Piotr Pacewicz article: "They Weep Yet Trust"]

[Text] One third of the people polled by the Center for Public Opinion Research last Sunday [4 February] found that they were short of money in January, and one half had taken on additional work. Almost everybody is having to make some sacrifices. More than one half of the respondents expected there to be an improvement in February. Nevertheless, two-thirds have faith in the Balcerowicz program, and almost one half think that their situation will improve.

According to the results of the center's poll of state sector employees (it did not include farmers, the private sector, old-age pensioners, students, and housewives), only 12 percent had enough money to meet all their expenses and save a little. 55 percent said that they had "barely enough to make ends meet" and 32 percent did not have enough (half had to borrow money and the other half had to draw on their savings).

How did we cope? Mainly by making sacrifices and:

—looking for cheaper food (89 percent);
—buying less clothing (83 percent);
—cutting down on purchases of foodstuffs (79 percent);
—spending less on culture (78 percent);
—saving on electricity (73 percent);
—giving up coffee, cigarettes, and liquor (57 percent).

Half of those polled had taken some form of additional work and a third had received assistance from their families. Only 5 percent sought benefits and allowances, and barely 2 percent had received welfare aid or assistance from charities.

When we came to collect our wages we were disappointed (23 percent); concerned about how we would survive February (57 percent). We were seldom pleased and unconcerned (15 percent).

What do we expect? Thirty percent of respondents thought that life would be harder in February, and only 14 percent thought that it would be easier. More than half expected a significant increase in wages soon. The obstacles to higher wages that were mentioned included: financial problems on the part of enterprises (72 percent); government fiscal policy (66 percent); bad enterprise wage policy (52 percent); to a lesser extent, lethargic trade unions (31 percent); and, cited very seldom (19 percent) personal inadequacies (education, skills, health).

Respondents were also asked what employees at their work places would do if things became more difficult and they did not have enough money to support their families. Almost everyone (87 percent) envisaged making further economies and doing additional work: 60 percent envisaged doing work in their own work place that would enable them to earn more, and 60 percent would also look for better work elsewhere.

If there were to be protests in some form they would only be verbal (56 percent said they would consist of complaints and abuse leveled at the government), and pressure on bosses (70 percent), and on trade unions (64 percent) to increase wages. On the other hand, there would be little support for strikes called by trade unions (31 percent), or for wildcat strikes and demonstrations (23 percent).

Despite the grave financial situation, people continue to support Balcerowicz's program: It is fully supported by 39 percent (in January it was 44 percent), while 12 percent (9 percent in January) do not support it. As many as 67 percent believe that Poland will emerge from its difficulties thanks to the Balcerowicz program, only 10 percent think that we are experiencing a further step on the road to decline, and 45 percent believe that all important national issues are in good hands.

The respondents were of the opinion that the government is very well acquainted with the situation in the market (74 percent), is somewhat less well acquainted

with the mood among the people (59 percent), and is markedly less well acquainted with people's material circumstances (46 percent).

Two thirds of those polled believe that continuing with the policy will make it possible to overcome the crisis in 5 years' time and only 14 percent are of the opposite opinion (following the introduction of the "second stage of the reform" in May 1986 the corresponding figures were 36 percent and 43 percent).

We believe that things will improve for us: 41 percent of those polled thought that they would be living better in 5 years' time and only 7 percent thought that their circumstances would be worse (the figures for May 1986 were 19 percent and 21 percent).

The material circumstances of those groups omitted by the poll are more difficult and, as we know from previous studies, the levels of optimism and support for the government among those groups is lower. Thus, society as a whole is undoubtedly suffering rather more, and supports the government rather less than the Center for Public Opinion Research poll would indicate. Nevertheless, one can say that despite the enormous, almost 40 percent drop in the standard of living in January, there is still strong faith and confidence in a government that is pursuing such a drastic economic policy.

Deputy Minister Views Debt, Negotiations

LD0702055190 Warsaw PAP in English 2358 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 6—Poland's debt amounted to just below 40 billion dollars at the end 1989 and is to reach about 43 billion dollars at the end of this year, said Vice-minister of Finance Janusz Sawicki in a televised interview, adding that attempts are being made to reschedule foreign debts servicing this year.

It must be understood by Poland's creditors that in the current situation, during the implementation of a new economic programme, we must direct all our forces and means so that this programme will fully [be] realized, said Sawicki.

During negotiations with creditors we are trying to explain to financiers that in the final end the success of the programme of the restructuring of Poland's economy will bring advantages to both sides, for Poland will become a good economic partner for Western countries, said Sawicki.

Referring to opinion voiced around the world that there is a need for working out new strategies for solving the debt problem, Sawicki said that Poland will have to take advantage of the new approach towards the debt problem, that is to achieve a debt reduction or a decrease of debt servicing in order to successfully implement the economic programme.

17-Nation Debt Agreement Signed With Paris Club

LD1602110990 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, Feb. 16—Poland today signed an important agreement on rescheduling its debt owed to 17 creditor nations, the AFP agency has reported.

The agreement was negotiated within the Paris Club and is expected to help Poland implement the stabilization and economic reform programme worked out by new non-communist government, AFP said.

Problem of Unemployment Examined; Data Cited

AU1302143390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Feb 90 p 1

[Zofia Krajewska report: "What Was Secret Is Now Open"]

[Text] One can continue to argue about the definition of unemployment, about whom to consider unemployed and whom to consider a job-seeker, but there is no denying the fact that we now have unemployment in Poland.

This is illustrated not by isolated statistics gathered from individual parts of the country and after all kinds of delays, but by a comprehensive analysis by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. The conclusion provided by individual reports submitted on 30 January by every voivodship and regional employment service is unequivocal. On that day, there were 55,800 registered job-seekers. The number of publicized job offers was no greater than 35,200. Of those who remained unemployed, some 51,000 were entitled to unemployment benefit. Work places had entered over 2,400 people on the list of those collectively made redundant. There were 46,200 more unemployed people than at the end of 1989, almost 5 times as much. The number of job vacancies fell by 220,000, in other words 86.2 percent.

Employment agency officials reckon that 70 percent of the unemployed are people who really have lost their jobs recently. The remaining 30 percent are people who have not worked for a long time or have done so only on a seasonal or part-time basis. Today they are signing on as unemployed because they hope to obtain social aid, mainly benefits.

An analysis of individual statistics indicates that most voivodships have a surplus of job-seekers over the number of job vacancies. Only the nine most industrialized voivodships have more job vacancies than people wishing to fill them. Job seekers in the voivodships of Katowice, Warsaw, Poznan, and Szczecin are still in a fairly good situation, whereas the symptoms of unemployment have hit the voivodships of Bialystok, Konin, Kalisz, and Wloclawek the hardest.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy believes that the current level and distribution of unemployment is definitely transitional, for it will change in line with the structural alterations to the economy. Nevertheless, one can already speak of certain trends and establish forecasts concerning unemployment.

Everything indicates that unemployment will mainly affect white-collar workers and young people. Unqualified people will have serious difficulties with finding a job. Women will be unemployed more frequently than men. The greatest redundancies will occur in large- and medium-size state enterprises, and the sharpest problems with unemployment will occur in small towns.

It is estimated that there will be 400,000 unemployed people by the end of this year. The World Bank believes the figure could be as high as 1 million, but the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy dismisses this figure as an exaggeration.

Several days ago, on 29 January to be exact, the amount of contributions payable to the Labor Fund was established by means of a Council of Ministers directive. All undertakings aimed at protecting people against unemployment and its consequences are meant to be paid for out of this fund. All in all, 2.8 trillion zlotys are being allocated to this fund not so much to counteract unemployment as to heal the job market.

There is no doubt that with this new situation on the labor market, it is also necessary to alter the institutional infrastructure completely. The present 44 employment "agencies" all over the country are definitely not enough to successfully control areas of increasing unemployment tension. Therefore it is planned to set up an entire network of employment offices, a total of about 450.

Retail Prices Rise 78.6 Percent in 1 Month

LD1302230490 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 13—According to the main statistical office GUS, the retail prices of consumer goods and services in January rose by 78.6 per cent as compared to last december's average figures.

Food prices went up by 79 per cent, prices of spirits by 41 per cent, non-food products by 72 per cent and services by 149 per cent.

Food prices in socialized trade outlets grew by 85 per cent from december last year. The highest rises were recorded in the first half of January.

The scale of food price hikes in private stores was much smaller (by 59 per cent) which is mainly due to a different structure of sales in favour of fruit and vegetables whose prices grew at a much lower rate.

ROMPRES Reviews Military Protests 11-14 Feb

AU1502195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 15 Feb 90

["The Military's Claims: An Epilogue?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/2/1990—In the evening of 11 February, representatives of several military units in Timisoara and of the Air Force read on the Free Romanian Television station an appeal to the President of the Provisional National Unity Council specifying that, to prevent the destabilization of the Army, measures should be taken which, in their opinion, would lead to democratization in the military sphere as well.

On 12 February a delegation of the representatives of the Timisoara garrison, of the Air Force and the Military Academy had talks with Gelu Voican, deputy prime minister, who was empowered by Ion Iliescu to handle the matter. The official statement issued after the talks that proceeded in a principled framework showed that they aimed at preventing further destabilization of the armed forces' situation, by carrying into effect the claims mentioned in the appeal.

Meanwhile, the aforementioned action was joined in by other 14 delegations of large military units, expressing on the phone their accord with the 11 February appeal. A meeting of solidarity of military units and the population of Timisoara also took place. Generals in the management of the National Defence Ministry advanced conciliatory proposals (which in the protestants' opinion excluded the military's major claims) as well as ultimatum-like measures.

A statement of the National Defence Ministry contested in the evening of 12 February the representative character of the military delegation that spoke on the Free Romanian Television as well as the truthfulness of their serious assessments on the military institution, on some of its bodies and personalities.

On February 14 a military delegation met with Prime Minister Petre Roman. A statement was released after the dialogue. It was decided, among other things, that a governmental commission be appointed to set the truth about the Army's role in the revolution over 16-22 December 1989, analyse the case and punish the military that contributed to the repressions in Timisoara, look again into the justness of promoting generals following a real contribution to the revolution; another governmental commission be set up to examine the accusations brought to the minister of national defence and the minister of the interior; the maintenance, till elections, of a military in the office of national defence minister, the promotion of military according to competence, military's non-allegiance to political parties, request for the parties to specify their position on the army and national defence affairs, dismantlement of presidential military units.

The prime minister advanced the idea of setting up a governmental commission to solve military questions. He assumed responsibility, on behalf of the government, that the military involved in the action of presenting their claims be reintegrated into the basic units without suffering the rigors of military hierarchy and discipline.

Demonstrators Call for Iliescu To Resign

AU1602083490 Paris AFP in English 0055 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 16 (AFP)—Several thousand protestors on Thursday [15 February] massed around the state television station shouting for the resignation of Romanian leader Ion Iliescu.

The demonstration, broadcast live, was held in support of army officers engaged in a four-day protest demanding the ouster of Romania's defense and interior ministers and a purge of the armed forces.

A crowd of 4,000 army officers and civilians had gathered Thursday outside the headquarters of the provisional government, demanding the pair's ouster.

The demonstrators outside the television station also shouted, "Down with the Securitate," the secret police force of former dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

The rally broke up shortly after midnight.

Meanwhile, representatives of the protesting soldiers said they had agreed to a government compromise to set up a commission to investigate charges that Interior Minister General Mihai Chitac had been involved in suppressing protests in the city of Timisoara last December.

The soldiers claim that Gen. Chitac personally gave the order for troops to fire on a peaceful candle-lit protest outside the Timisoara cathedral last December. Bloody repression of protests in Timisoara sparked a popular uprising throughout the country that led to the collapse of the communist regime.

Soldiers also charge that the interior minister had ordered the use of "chemical products" against Timisoara demonstrators.

A delegation of soldiers met Thursday with Deputy Premier Gelu Voican, who agreed to make their demands a priority for Friday's scheduled meeting of the Provisional Council of National Unity.

Soldiers have also demanded the removal of Defense Minister General Nicolae Militaru, blamed for creating tensions within the armed forces and causing disorder through his "incompetence."

On Wednesday, protesting soldiers met with Prime Minister Petre Roman who agreed to set up two commissions, a first to examine the role of the Army during the December uprising and a second to examine specific accusations against the defense and interior ministers.

Portions of the two days of negotiations between the soldiers' delegation and the government were shown on television.

Defense Ministry Denies Arrest of Protesters

AU1502183790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Statement issued by the Ministry of National Defense; place and date not given]

[Text] Leaflets claiming that the government is arresting military men who presented proposals to the prime minister at Victory Palace that urged the population to carry out protest actions continued to be distributed today, as in previous days, in various parts of Bucharest and in other localities. The Ministry of National Defense emphasizes that no military man who participated in that meeting has been arrested and that no one will be subjected to repressive measures. The Ministry of National Defense also stresses that such slanderous and biased claims are completely unfounded and are part of a systematic disinformation campaign. These leaflets represent a provocation and aim at destabilizing the Army and creating hostility toward the Romanian Government and the Army's leadership.

Under these conditions, the natural question that arises is: What are the social forces involved in the aforementioned irresponsible actions? We count on the lucidity of honest people to thwart such provocations and preserve calm in the country.

Demonstrations in Support of Army Reported

AU1602094490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Yesterday afternoon and in the evening, new demonstrations in support of the Army were held in Victory Square. Likewise, representatives of 14 other military units of the ground forces presented the Romanian Government with a motion of solidarity through an appeal published a few days ago by the representatives of the Timisoara garrison of the Air Force and of the Military Technical Academy.

The officers in Victory Square talked with demonstrators, assuring them of the security of their comrades who protested in the past days and expressed their belief that the government will act in accordance with the communique that had been issued by the delegates after the discussions held on Wednesday with Prime Minister Petre Roman and with Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu.

Former Ceausescu Guards Go on Trial in Bucharest

AU1602101090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 16 Feb 90

["In the Box"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/2/1990—The trial of four ex-officers begins today 16 February at Bucharest's Military Court. Their charge: "assistance to the criminal". The four were members of a special security and guard service for the dictators. They are charged to have helped Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena and their top aides Emil Bobu and Manea Manescu to flee the former Central Committee Building by helicopter at the time when demonstrators got into it.

'Trial of the 22' To Open in Two Weeks

AU1602100890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 16 Feb 90

["Prologue to the Trial of the 22"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/2/1990—As announced, two weeks from now the first trial of terrorists will start at Timisoara. Also known as the trial of the 22, defendants, accused of complicity to genocide and of favouring genocide, are Major General Macri Emil and other ex-active higher officers of the Security and the Militia. Three more officers were originally on the prosecutor's list—General Nuta Constantin, chief of the Militia General Inspectorate, and his deputy, Mihalea Velicu both of whom died in a helicopter crash and Colonel Moraru Petre, who committed suicide in prison.

The 22 were accused of crimes, a charge that they accepted in part, in their attempt to put down the revolution at Timisoara, wherefore a special command unit had been set up on the dictator's orders comprised of Security and Militia staff in Timisoara and former Ministry of the Interior personnel who travelled to Timisoara, among whom the defendants. Their long indictment which includes their effort to destroy all material evidence is now at the Military Department of the Higher Court of Justice and the evidence gathered by the prosecution is comprised in seven several-hundred-page volumes.

Revolution Seen 'Still Raging' in TV Studios

PM1302165390 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 7 Feb 90 p 4

[Cees Zoon dispatch: "Romanian Revolution Still Raging in Television Studios"]

[Text] Bucharest—A long deserted corridor deep in the television complex: The only sign of life in the corner by the decor center is a soldier playing nonchalantly with his rifle. But the quiet is misleading. Behind one of the many doors in the middle of the corridor the Romanian revolution continues unabated.

The air is blue with the smoke created by tense people shouting at each other. Arguments fly back and forth, until someone drops a typewriter on the desk with a bang. A list of demands has to be compiled, and all those present want to make their contribution. The only one who knows how to create some calm is a laconic man with a big beard. Dumitru Iuga, chairman of the Free Union of Broadcasting Staff, has authority over his colleagues and is the undisputed leader in the office of the brand new union.

In a few minutes a union delegation is due to go to meet with Deputy Director Constantin, whose office is on the 11th floor of the main building. Before it goes upstairs, its conditions must again be set down unambiguously on paper: the total independence of radio and television, guarantees against continuing manipulation and censorship, the resignation of the entire board of directors, which is too closely allied with the governing National Salvation Front. Once the list is complete, the delegation leaves for the "dialogue" with the deputy director.

The buildings of Televiziunea Romania Libera everywhere breathe the atmosphere of revolution. The complex is surrounded by villas that have been shot to pieces—evidence of the fighting which, during the first hours of the uprising, was concentrated around the television studios. Access is barred by dozens of soldiers, and entry is only granted after a long series of telephone calls, body searches, passport checks, and interrogations. Between the buildings there is the scent of war. Your walk is a meandering progress between lines of tanks and armored personnel carriers, enormous mounds of broken glass, and the slush from half-melted snow which makes the paths almost impassable.

The broadcasts of Free Romanian Television have become a little less revolutionary. The tableaux vivants from the days in December which made an impression on the whole world are shown now and then when a new party is given a 10-minute opportunity to introduce itself and each does so by showing in a single shot the whole of its membership. But these pictures gradually show more similarity with the mise-en-scene of the pirate broadcasters who once infiltrated the Netherlands cable network. The newscasters have set aside their tricolor armbands and clips of U.S. rock groups like Little Feat are beginning to become commonplace.

The problem does not lie in what television shows, or in how technically imperfect and clumsy it sometimes may look. No, it lies in what is not to be seen on Romanian television. The news bulletins are weak and one-sided and restrict themselves to the verbatim reading of decrees and bulletins from the National Salvation Front. Lots of room for the authorities and all sorts of restrictions on the opposition, regardless of which side it comes from.

Editor George Serafin has a simple explanation for the lack of "other" news in the broadcasts. "The population does not understand the technical shortcomings with which we are struggling and thinks that we leave things out on purpose. One of the reasons is that we have to work with far too few people. As a result of all sorts of restrictions imposed by Ceausescu, far too few people were hired and we now have an incredible number of vacancies. Before the revolution, television transmitted for two hours a day; now it broadcasts for between 12 and 14 hours. And that has to be done with the same technical equipment and the same number of people."

After some more talk, Serafin conceded that these practical shortcomings are not the real reason behind the mistrust that most Romanians feel for television. Consciously one-sided information is given and television is the mouthpiece of the Front, which excludes voices it does not want. When Silviu Brucan, the Front's strongman, resigned last Sunday [4 February], Romanian television dealt with the news in literally one sentence in the 1930 news program. "Yes," Serafin said, "we who work in television also have to learn what democracy and neutral news reporting are."

Dumitru Iuga and his union of technical personnel are already a step ahead: Iuga has experience of manipulated television. Six years ago he and some colleagues made an anti-Ceausescu program and he was promptly sentenced to 12 years in prison. The outbreak of the uprising in December cut his sentence in half, but he was in prison for six years. Back at his post he quickly realized that television was still not independent. In order to do something about this he set up the Free Union of Technical Staff.

Iuga, whose face is almost entirely hidden behind spectacles and his beard, makes a timid impression, but as soon as he opens his mouth his modesty falls away. "The problem is serious. We want to replace not only Director Munteanu, but also the whole of the board of directors. We want Romanian television to be really free. That is why we cannot accept any director who has also been spokesman for the Front. We have no confidence in him, even though he may have resigned his position with the Front. As long as he is here along with his colleagues who have also been appointed by decree, television will be censored."

Iuga's union issued an ultimatum which expired Sunday morning. The management played dumb. "Director Munteanu has not put in an appearance for two days," Iuga said on Sunday afternoon. "So we are taking action. Striking? No, that is impossible, I think. The people must not be the victims; people have had to make do for years with two hours of distorted television per day. We will find other ways of fighting against censorship and the present management."

One problem is that news staff do not follow the same line. "They do not want to join us, but want to set up their own union. Under the old regime a great distrust grew up between news and technical staff. The news staff are afraid that they will lose their privileges if they join us, and the technicians do not believe that the news staff are ready to abandon the old structure, including their privileges."

While Iuga was speaking in the corridor outside his union's little office, four or five cameras were set up outside the gates of the television complex. Demonstrators gathered to support the technicians' demands. The majority of them were students, who announced as long ago as last week that they would take to the streets in support of free television. Will the demonstration be

broadcast? "Of course," Iuga said. "Everyone must see what we want to do with television. And we have the power to broadcast this against the will of the management."

It was seen on Sunday evening. For half an hour the whole of Romania saw the demonstrators and their banners and the country heard the slogans and the speech Iuga made to the demonstrators. The battle was won, but the war continued unabated the next morning.

Around noon on Monday, the television complex was full of the company's cars, and groups of chauffeurs were hanging around. There was a strike, but it was not in support of the goals the technicians were striving for. "We are behind Director Munteanu," shrieked a placard held aloft by one of the chauffeurs.

The technicians were angry. "Early this morning," Deputy Chairman Laurescu said, "Director Munteanu came here and promised the chauffeurs better cars, higher salaries, even houses. This is a counterdemonstration arranged by the Front, just like the counterdemonstrations in the city last week."

At the same time Chairman Iuga was at a meeting with Prime Minister Roman to discuss the problems. The result was a draw. According to the technicians, Roman agreed to all their demands, apart from the dismissal of Munteanu. That was a decision that would have to be left to the as yet unformed Council of National Unity, which is expected to begin its work at the end of this week. But Munteanu was not wasting time. He and his people were at a meeting with President Iliescu to confirm his position. The matter remained unresolved.

Romanian television carried the news in its evening bulletin and gave another example of bias. Technicians and management both met with Iliescu, the newscaster said. The talks produced a sea of conflicting views which the president was unable to resolve. He has decided that democracy in television can be achieved with the present people. Munteanu will remain director.

Technicians Chairman Iuga needed more time at the government offices than the others. In the last few days he has received a number of telephone calls threatening him with death, and wanted a promise of protection from the authorities—at least for the period in which the war over Romanian television lasts.

Iliescu Chances in Presidential Election Viewed

AU1302223190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/2/1990—Before the start of the meeting writers with the News Agency ROMPRES asked a number of participants in the proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council to share their opinions on the way in which the meeting proceeded as well as on the personality of the person to be elected president of that body.

Radu Cimpeanu (the National Liberal Party): I think Mr.Iliescu will be the president of the Provisional Council. For the time being I don't have any other person in mind.

Ion Diaconescu (the National Peasant Party): If the proceedings are to be the way they were on Friday in future sessions as well then Mr.Iliescu will certainly be the president.

Ion Caramitru (the National Salvation Front Council): People forget that the creation of this highly important body is an absolute novelty in the country's post-war life. The people's resistance in the system governed by a single party gave an impression of inability to ever create another political leading form in the state. The revolution made of the emergence of this parliament the most important opening towards a normal existence. Naturally, the debates conducted during the first session of this parliament were stormy, childish even, but the oxygen balloon of democracy and the absolute novelty of the freedom of that type were so great that the people experienced a feeling of height. I believe the second session will know greater order, will be able to get to the point, will be more contained since parliamentary life will soon know order. I believe that most important issue of the present is that of direct participation, through individualities, in the executive bureau of that parliament, as well as the issues of the election law and the appointments to the state apparatus. We will have to constantly appeal to competence, to the each individual as a social and moral entity.

I think for the time being the only presence at the head of this council can be Mr. Ion Iliescu in whom I do trust and whose competence and reliability are certain, as we could see for ourselves.

Varujan Vosganian (the Armenians' Union of Romania): I do not entirely agree to the stance taken in the press or by the public opinion that tend to make fun of this mini-parliament because these people's effort to reach consensus, in conditions in which there is a scisson of opinions and there also are different interests, is a considerable effort. I believe consensus on leadership will be reached today. I think the best man for the presidential office is President Ion Iliescu who has already given guarantees in the weeks that passed since the revolution and who has not disappointed us notably. Furthermore, I can think of no other candidate to match. What I mean to say is that these parties, which I will not call opposition parties because I do not think this is the case, are not concerned with forming personalities to show to the people, they virtually failed to consolidate a personality who could compare with Mr. Iliescu.

Petre Roman (prime minister): I believe we should maintain this modality of ours so we might get to a result. Therefore, no matter the intense parliamentary activity, the numerous, contradictory addresses made

during the first session on February 1, three days ago and today, a result will be arrived at. Which I think is the most important aspect. It is my belief that the presidential office can only go to Mr. Ion Iliescu, who assumed responsibility at a most difficult time, leading the fight for the victory of the revolution and the fight for the establishment of democracy. And I think he has done all that most honestly, inspired by democratic feelings and beliefs, in an attempt at establishing democracy in Romania.

Ion Minzatu (the Republican Party): The atmosphere on Friday was like an explosion, a reflux after 45 years and it should be understood as such. And things went well for a meeting that was to decide the creation of a miniparliament. However, we should understand that it was for the first time that people met to ease the road to an event which may indeed be a, shall we call it, historical turning point in the life of the nation the elections, which will be free for the first time in decades. Therefore, I hope, as everyone does, that today will be mean more than confrontation, it will mean full understanding, to reach conclusions that do not concern every individual or political grouping but the ones we represent correctly and honestly the nation as a whole. I think our achievements should be maintained. I think the personalities who distinguished themselves despite omissions and mistakes should continue to hold the levers with the help of which all the legally created parties could provide for the legality of the country's economic and social activity as a whole until the elections, as well as for everyone's equal right to have his say. In this respect, I think Mr. Ion Iliescu makes a very promising candidate.

Answering a ROMPRES writer's question in connection with the way in which the Provisional National Unity Council held its proceedings, Mr. Marius Circiumaru, president of the Socialist Democratic Party said: It is our party's view that each participant in the debates should give priority to items of national interest rather than to narrow party issues. In the first half of the session most of the opinions expressed centered on issues outside the agenda that had nothing to do with general interests. It is time that pride and vanity were given up. I believe this Council should materialize the generous ideas in the platform of the National Salvation Front adopted on December 22, 1989, and, to this end, we all the participants in the debates should harbour patriotic feelings above all.

Roman Interviewed on Talks With Miners

AU1202211490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2026 GMT 12 Feb 90

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman after his meeting with miners and other workers in Maramures County on 12 February —recorded]

[Text] [Roman] Of course, the problems discussed with the miners and with the employees of the metallurgical enterprise and of other units from Baia Mare were foreseeable. As I have said on several occasions in the past, these problems are linked to the disastrous situation inherited from the dictatorship—more specifically, industries devoid of resources and means, where extremely difficult working conditions prevail. All these problems have accumulated over the years. There have been years of arbitrary, self-willed, mendacious, and nonrealistic leadership, if one can call it leadership, of the entire national economy.

For instance, the miners are working underground under conditions that remind us of the old pictures of mining at the end of the last century. In Baia Mare, the metallurgical enterprise is confronted with serious pollution problems, which must be dealt with because they affect the entire population. There are also serious problems in other sectors. We discussed various solutions within the framework of what our economy can sustain right now. However, I must tell you that, unfortunately, our economy can support very little at this time. The inflationary pressure and the serious economic imbalance, which are also reflected in a budgetary imbalance, prevent us from solving these totally justified claims.

We are obliged to discuss them and gradually negotiate each one of these claims, with the obvious aim of finding appropriate solutions. Some solutions may be found sooner, some later. Basically, that is what it all is about. Therefore, what we are doing is striving to restore professional and human dignity to these people in Maramures.

Miners' Strike Ends in Maramures, Cavnic Areas

AU1302223490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The ROMPRES correspondent for Maramures reports that in the entire Maramures mining basin, workers resumed normal activity during their shift on the night of 12-13 February; however, this was less true in the Cavnic Mining sectors. The striking miners in the Cavnic, Baia Sprie, Ilba, Herjea, and Sudori mines pledged to recuperate the production lost during the two-day strike.

NSF Measures Counter Threat of Inflation

AU1502112690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901 GMT 15 Feb 90

["The Economy—Inflation a Threat"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/2/1990—In less than two months the National Salvation Front Council adopted a number of fully justified regulations aimed at boosting the quality of life, which is the reason why the state budget for the first trimester of 1990 will be deprived of 15 billion lei. Extending this to the year as a whole an additional budget task results worth 50 billion lei, adding to which will be also the funds allotted for pensions rises.

These measures, which are intended to relieve family budgets from a number of unjustified expenses that had been oppressively imposed by the dictatorship, along with the other steps the government intends to take are equivalent to the salaries for several months of all the employees in Romania. An immense monetary mass in circulation in conditions in which the difficulties the economy encounters prevent production from growing and also hinders the achievement of a balance between the amount of commodities and the amount of money in the market at a given moment. In conditions in which state prices are a practice there is no question of a serious upsetting of that balance; however, some economists opine that if the perfectly justified wishes of a number of social groups continue to be met without an indispensable correlation to production the whole situation may slip out of control.

Decision-makers, the recently created Provisional National Unity Council and the Government, have a number of levers at their disposal whereby they may absorb the excess monetary mass from the population by selling shares in enterprises, increasing the interest offered by savings banks (which are currently three or four times lower than those in use in the world), reorganizing services and small enterprises upon private bases, selling of dwellings. Some of these levers have already been made use of. The essential aspect is to boost production in areas of great public interest tractors, trucks, passenger cars, helicopters, tv sets and refrigerators, as well as regular consumer goods, such as cosmetics, footwear, clothing, etc., which are still scarce in the market as concerns both quantity and quality.

* Statement of Hungarian Democratic Union

90EB0231A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Letter from Geza Domokos: "Received by the Editor from the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania"—first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] The following points were made in a statement made public by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania.

The documents published up to the present by the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania clearly proclaim that the Hungarian minority is rallying in support of the Romanian democratization process—the foundations of which were laid by the December revolution—and believes that creation of democracy is inconceivable without validation of the individual and collective rights of minorities. It was precisely for this reason that the Union was gratified by the National Salvation Front declaration on the rights of national minorities. The Union believes it is the first political document that firmly condemns the policy of chauvinistic oppression and denationalization promoted by the now defunct regime and that, at the same time, proclaims the legal principles on the basis of which legal validation and practical exercise of minority rights can be placed on a new, democratic foundation. Among other things, the declaration stipulates that "we wish to secure for the national minorities the right to solve political, social, and cultural problems through their democratic organizations, through representatives sent or elected to serve in the organs of power, of administration, and in other organizations of civilian society."

In the weeks following the victory of the revolution, every social stratum and category has demonstrated that it wants to avail itself of the opportunities afforded by democratic freedoms. Along with the other national minorities in our homeland, Hungarians in Romania have established an organization of their own for the purpose of defending their interests. This organization, the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania, has set as its goal promotion of the individual and collective rights of this minority, while militating for eradication of the baleful heritage of the now deposed regime and for creation in this way of the preconditions for full equality of rights of all citizens of this country. Like the program of political, economic, and spiritual restructuring announced by the National Salvation Front, our program includes current and long-term goals. We have objectives that we believe are possible to reach now, as an act of fairness, just as there are others which we regard as expressions of a broader horizon of the democratic transformation of society for which we are militating. In the first category is the question of education; this includes rectifying the serious errors in education conducted in the mother tongue by making certain that all pupils who want to study in their mother tongue and whose desire was thwarted by a chauvinistic education policy have their rights restored immediately. Precisely for this reason have we lent our support to the measures which were elaborated by the minister of education and which adopted the democratic initiatives coming from the Hungarian population. These measures aimed at institutionalizing the education of pupils in their mother tongue wherever the demand exists and wherever the necessary conditions have been provided, starting in the third quarter of 1990, and at returning our schools to the status which existed before 1959 and which was changed by force.

We believe that, just as the revolution has already created the possibility of eradicating—in many areas of life throughout the country—the results of the pernicious and unjust policies of the former regime through adoption of specific measures, the time has come—in education as well—to take the first specific steps to eliminate existing injustices that have affected national minorities. At the same time, in harmony with the corresponding measures taken by the Ministry of Education, we have called attention to the fact that it is a question of a conducting the process in such a way that it should cause no disruption in the natural course of education, and that the restoration of classroom courses by Hungarian language schools will cause no interruption or disruption in the instruction of Romanian pupils and will not

prevent Romanian teachers from exercising their vocation and profession. We never have been and never will be in agreement with any display of haste or lack of judgment that could lead to unfairness and that would clash with the democratic spirit. However, neither have we been, nor are we now, in agreement with those who consider measures rectifying past injustices to be an undue and unfair action. We cannot agree with those persons or groups who maintain—sometimes for manipulatory, subversive purposes by leading public opinion astray—that their professional or national interests are harmed by restoring our rights, thereby trying to brand any aspiration in this direction as opposing democracy, or even qualifying it as a manifestation of nationalism and separatism. At the same time, we do not agree with those who assert that the restoration of minority rights, including the right to education in the mother tongue, does not fall within the category of urgent tasks and that we should wait "until its time comes too." Briefly, we believe it is natural for the Hungarians in Romania, along with the other minorities, to feel dissatisfied by vague promises, and for them to want to enjoy immediately that authentic democracy which affects all social strata and categories, and all the ethnic groupings in our country.

We are aware of the fact that tensions have arisen in some localities because of the school question, but we are convinced that they cannot be resolved by the minority abandoning its justified demands. We believe rather that the tensions can be resolved by efforts to find a solution in the form of efficient, sensible measures devoid of any preconceived notions. It is for this reason that we were surprised by the speech by Mr.Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council—toward whom we take this opportunity to express our respect and confidence—delivered on the evening of 25 January 1990 on Free Romanian Television. We refer to the passage in which he mentioned separatism in a reference to the tensions in question. Even if he did not want to do so, he gave the impression that the Hungarian minority or its representatives exclusively bear responsibility for the situation created in some towns in Transylvania. We believe that such an approach to the problem leads to a one-sided picture which oversimplifies the actual situation. It contains the germ of the danger that public opinion may conclude that the complex situation that has arisen in some Transylvanian towns is due merely to the Hungarian minority's aspirations for legitimate defense of their interests, and as a result, these aspirations may be dampened or even annihilated. In this connection, we believe it is necessary to state that we do not accept the qualification of reopening classes in which Hungarian is the language of instruction, or eradication of the measures which prejudiced the cultural institutions of the minorities as separatism, because such qualification runs counter to the principles set forth in the Declaration of the National Salvation Front—principles which are incorporated in the Platform Program of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania.

The Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania calls on all its organizations and all its members to think clearly and act responsibly, harmonizing specific interests with general ones. At the same time, we respectfully appeal to our Romanian compatriots to understand that the opportunity afforded us by democracy to assert and defend our specific rights can never be greater or lesser than that to which they themselves lay claim to promote their well being.

In the name of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania.

[Signed] Geza Domokos

Campeanu Statement During Baker Visit Cited

AU1502173390 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Feb 90 p 5

["Editorial Note" on statements by National Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu during U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit, in Bucharest on 11 February]

[Text] Certainly, finding solutions to the serious economic problems confronting our country as a result of the disastrous Ceausescu dictatorship depends primarily on the work and efforts of the Romanian people and on establishing conditions of tranquillity, calm, stability; foreign aid is meant to complete these efforts. However, it is difficult to understand that under conditions in which we have to face so many difficulties in order to put our national economy back on its feet, there are still voices here in Romania which plead for setting conditions on this aid for purely electoral reasons. Is it possible that in a decisive moment for the destiny of the Romanian people the interests and narrow calculations of certain parties prevail over national interests? Can one imagine a similar thing happening in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or in Hungary, that is, placing conditions that result from this way of thinking, placing conditions on establishing normal relations with the United States or with the other Western countries, including the granting of the most-favored-nation status? On the contrary, according to our knowledge, a consensus has been reached among all the national political forces in the aforementioned countries so that the process of normalizing international relations can be carried out rapidly and without being hampered.

There is another aspect. Returning to the somewhat vague statements made by Mr. Baker in connection with the same issue of the most-favored-nation clause, we cannot help expressing our bewilderment: In 1975, when the respective clause was granted to the Ceausescu regime, it seems to us that things were carried out in a different way, and it seems that statements made at that time were more direct and clear, and there were considerably less question marks, if any at all.

Roman Outlines Foreign Policy Priorities

AU1602094190 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian No. 6/8 Feb 90 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Radu Pascal; place and date not given: "We Primarily Proved Ourselves Through Openness"]

[Text] [Pascal] Open dialogue in an atmosphere devoid of protocol rigidities. The interview begins with questions on certain statements made by Mr. Petre Roman, at the request of the ROMPRES agency, on the government's domestic policy options. Under the influence of the previous discussion, I asked the prime minister about the impact abroad, including the effect on Romania's foreign relations, of the rapid changes occurring in Romania's political life, and about the problems facing Romanian society.

[Roman] I am sure you monitored the world press which, at the beginning, expressed unreserved enthusiasm for the Romanian revolution. Of course, with the natural appearance of political pluralism, of diverse political opinions, and of discussions on the process of democratization in Romania, problems have begun to arise.

It is quite clear that our economic options play a very important role, sometimes a vital role, in the way the rest of the world conducts contacts with Romania and considers entering into partnership with us. As a mater of fact, there is a consensus on the idea of transition to a market economy under various forms and in various stages. One can easily understand the great diversity of opinions on this market mechanism.

On the other hand, it is also clear that the image of true democracy often decides the position of certain countries or groups of countries vis-a-vis Romania. The entire foreign press agrees that there is freedom of expression in Romania, something which did not exist before the revolution. As a matter of fact, some press correspondents even told me that, from a certain viewpoint, there is even too much freedom. I was criticized because the government, on the one hand, and the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], on the other, have paid too little attention to the world press. Consequently it hit back at us—I do not think I have to tell you that, you know it yourself. The press can only function on the basis of information received. Because, on many occasions, they did not receive this information from the horse's mouth, as you journalists say, they often resorted to speculation and false interpretations. Our work is often quite overwhelming, therefore it is obvious that we should have our own means of information to present our viewpoint. If this had been the case, much could have been avoided. I believe that the political consensus we have reached is clear proof of an advanced process of democratization, which has not ceased for a single moment (except for the Sunday, 28 January moment, when—I stick to what I said then—some parties attempted a coup). Therefore, I believe that the entire process after 22 December is a true process of democratization.

[Pascal] During my discussion with the prime minister, I pointed to the first proof of a new Romanian foreign policy: the new conceptual and practical direction of taking the country out of the isolation to which it was condemned by the ousted dictatorial regime. I added that it is also obvious that this opening up to the world necessarily and primarily involves Romania's reintegration in Europe, a Europe conceived as a single civilization and as a common destiny and history. In this respect, Mr Petre Roman's statements are quite revealing:

[Roman] As we are very busy, as is only natural, with the problems of our economy and domestic situation, first of all we showed complete openness toward all proposals received from abroad—and there were many such proposals. As you noted, the first important thing is for Romania to reoccupy its European status and vocation. In this respect we have had many and, generally speaking, very good and positive contacts—at official level, but also between nongovernmental institutions which play an important role on the international plane. We decided to pay our dues—something not at all easy to do—for Romania's participation in practically all international bodies from which we were almost on the point of being excluded. I am talking about all UN bodies as well as such organizations as WHO, FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization], the Meteorological World Organization, and so forth. The day before yesterday, I received an executive director of the IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], with whom I had a very useful and interesting talk. We expressed our desire for active participation. We are already members of these bodies; consequently, we want to participate as much as we have to and as much as we can. Generally speaking, we resumed all links with the European and, to a certain extent, the world structure. Therefore, this is the main target of our diplomatic and other efforts at the international level.

[Pascal] Our discussion then concentrated on the implications of the new political dynamics and true requirements for our nation's belonging to Europe; in its broad geographical, historical, and political meaning; and the reality of Romania's membership in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact.

[Roman] First of all, Romania's belonging to CEMA can no longer be seen as a political choice, but rather as a reality to be judged on the basis of economic merits. Consultations are currently under way on CEMA's reorganization and complete restructuring. If the new formula is in accordance with Romania's principles and interests and proves to be useful for our participation in the economic circulation of assets, we will agree to continue our cooperation within CEMA. If no viable

formula can be found for CEMA's activity, we will have to reconsider Romania's participation in this organization.

On the other hand, assuming our further cooperation within CEMA—and I believe that this is possible, given the existing structural links—this should not in any way hamper the possibility of very solid cooperation with other groups, first of all with other states. Given Romania's current situation, the most important form of cooperation is still the one conducted at a bilateral level. This type of relation is more efficient and personal, and, given our present situation, it may prove more useful at this particular time. However, we also want to promote contacts with such groups as the Common Market, which we also consider very important.

As for Romania's membership in the Warsaw Pact, this is a fact. We have pledged to observe all of Romania's international treaties as an element of political stability in Europe.

There have been many obvious developments in the geopolitical structure of Europe. Changes are taking place everywhere and the democratic change in all central and East European countries is a decisive element of this process.

But to come back to the question of Romania's foreign policy, I believe one should stress our country's European vocation in its broadest sense.

[Pascal] Apropos Europe, but on a more limited scale, we wanted to find out the prime minister's opinion on the possibilities of improving and restructuring relations with our neighbors on new bases, for these relations were heavily damaged by the policy of the former regime.

[Roman] During my meetings in Sofia with the prime ministers of all neighboring countries, I noted a very broad and positive consensus and real possibilities of understanding. We decided that all neighborly relations should be promoted without delay or barriers, and that centralized or individual bilateral relations should be freed from all restrictions, while observing the principle of mutual advantage. Likewise, our relations with other countries—such as Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Poland—were favorably viewed by all sides, and there are possibilities for placing them on a basis of participation, so to speak, in the developing framework of the European community.

[Pascal] In a logical sequence, Mr Petre Roman then referred to the significance of the idea of a "common European home," this generous concept which, however, is the subject of various interpretations:

[Roman] I believe that the common European home, or Mitterrand's alternative name, confederation—all these concepts have their purpose and justification. Fortunately, the ideological barriers are much thinner now, if not totally eliminated, and nobody any longer contests the humanist foundation of coexistence, of the European community. What is more, this foundation begins to turn into an active instrument, and I believe that Romania—with its recognized virtues and the legitimacy conferred on it by the revolution—can also be a nice and clear addition to this community.

[Pascal] In conclusion, Mr Petre Roman referred to the scope of the development of Romania's relations with all states. As noted, the European option does not exclude other options....

[Roman] This is quite obvious and our diplomatic initiatives are clear proof of that. From the very first moment, we expressed the desire to develop relations with the whole world on new bases. Recently, we resumed very fruitful contacts with Arab countries and will continue along these lines. We have good contacts with various countries— Canada, for instance—and somewhat lesser ties with the United States and Japan so far.

I repeat: As far as we are concerned, we are not discriminating against anyone. The European vocation we are talking about is not a kind of pan-European precept, but rather the result of the aforementioned geopolitical and historical reality.

Others have only to open their gates, and we are ready to meet them halfway. I recall the words of a Western journalist who told me that Romania is now ready to open many gates. I replied that this is not quite correct, as, in my opinion, we are a completely open landscape, without any barriers through which one cannot see.

USSR's Mostovoy Announces Trade Increase

AU1502215890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1913 GMT 15 Feb 90

["News Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/2/1990—P.I. Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, chairman for the Soviet Union of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, stated during a news conference held in Bucharest on Thursday that the two sides decided to expand and deepen their economic and commercial relations, for the benefit of Romania and the Soviet Union. He specified that the volume of goods exchanges would increase by 16 per cent in 1991. Both the Soviet side and the Romanian side, just as all the people that worked these days in Moscow and here in Romania are satisfied with the decisions made, P.I. Mostovoy stated.

Foreign Secretariat on German Unification

LD1502221890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—The question of reunification is a concern of the German people, but European countries have the right to expect that the process will not diminish confidence in Europe and the stability and inviolability of European borders, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Ivo Vajgl said here today.

Commenting on an agreement on the schedule for German reunification reached by the foreign ministers of six countries in Ottawa, Vajgl said that European countries rightly expect to participate in the resolving of such a vital question.

Spokesman Calls Open Skies Agreement 'Positive'

LD1502221390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—The Open Skies agreement signed by the foreign ministers of NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Ottawa is a positive development, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Ivo Vajgl said here today.

The agreement permits reconnaissance planes of the two blocs to fly over each other's territories.

Recalling that the reaching of understanding on the bloc basis has deficiences. Vajgl expressed hope that the other member countries of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation will also be covered by the agreement.

Loncar Receives USSR, U.S. Officials

LD1502100290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar on Wednesday separately received Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ernest Obimski and U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade Warren Zimmermann.

The two officials informed him about the content of the Moscow talks between Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers, Shevardnadze and Baker.

Loncar was told that Shevardnadze and Baker had highly assessed the contents of his messages sent prior to the Moscow meeting.

In the messages Yugoslavia, in keeping with the views and orientation of the Non-Aligned Movement and continuing the earlier opened dialogue with the big powers, expressed support to the U.S. and Soviet efforts.

Especially underscored was the need for the current positive processes to include development problems, which form an integral and increasingly important part of the world's stability and security.

Reportage on Situation, Reaction in Kosovo

Albanians Boycott School; Militia Seen

AU1502183590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] Tension has been increasing in Kosovo again. Ethnic Albanian students in most secondary schools in the province do not attend lessons. The students mostly gather in the school yard and reiterate the demand that the state of emergency in Kosovo be lifted. Lessons are not held in some elementary schools in Podujevo and Urosevac, too. As we were told at the provincial secretariat for education, the situation is particularly grave in the villages. Lessons are also being boycotted by the students of five classes in the Titova Mitrovica Prvi Tunel suburb and in almost all secondary schools in Gnjilane, Lipljan, and Pec.

Lessons were shortened in schools in Pec so that the students could go home earlier. After the second lesson, all ethnic Albanian students in Pristina secondary schools left their classrooms.

About 1,500 ethnic Albanian university students have gathered at the square by the Student Center. They were joined by a number of secondary school students. At about 1300 [1200 GMT], Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, addressed them. After a short discussion, a delegation of 30 students of all Pristina faculties was formed and presented their demands to the Kosovo premier, which were identical to those expressed during the first demonstrations this year. They demand that the state of emergency be lifted, the leaderships be replaced, political prisoners released, and a referendum on free elections be carried out. While we are reporting this, the talks are still under way and more than 1,000 students are standing in front of the Student Center building waiting for their outcome.

All roads leading to student dormitories are controlled by strong militia forces. There are also militia forces in Podujevo streets where almost 5,000 Albanians gathered about 1400 [1300 GMT]. For the time being, they are not shouting slogans, but peacefully walking in two columns occasionally making the well-known victory sign with their fingers.

Ethnic Albanian employees in the Javor Timber Combine and the 29 November factory in Podujevo stopped work again this morning. Just as they did in the past few days, workers of the Seamed Pipes Factory and Minex Organization in Urosevac are not working. Almost all privately owned artisan and retail shops in these two towns have been closed as of this morning.

Pristina Students Agree to Talks

LD1502153690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—After an hour-long discussion, about 1,500 students, who were gathered in front of the administrative building of the student center in Pristina, agreed to talks between their representatives and Kosovo Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu. It was agreed that five students from each Pristina University faculty will attend the talks.

TANJUG learned from students that their main demands are, above all, the end of the state of emergency, investigating the possible overstepping of powers by the security services, and an open dialogue with their representatives. They justified the last demand by stating that former leaders of delegations had previously been persecuted.

Students Disperse After Talks

LD1502222690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—Following talks between the delegation of students from Pristina University and Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, and representatives of the university, the participants in today's protest rally dispersed peacefully, despite the fact they were dissatisfied with the four hours of talks since their demands were not accepted.

The students' main demands are, again, an end to the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners, the introduction of a multiparty system and free elections, a halt to ideo-political differentiation, and an investigation of all cases of overstepping powers by the security organs. The students set a short deadline for all this of 20 February. Until then, and if these demands are not met, they will continue with their boycott of lectures.

15 Feb Unrest Described

AU1502212990

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 15 February begins an extended 42-minute newscast with a three-minute bloc of general news from Kosovo which begins by saying:

"According to the latest news that has reached our editorial room, one must conclude that the situation in numerous community centers in Kosovo has worsened. As our correspondents report, this is due partly to the fact that members of the militia are frequently overstepping their official authority, maltreating innocent citizens."

The announcer then states that schoolchildren of Albanian nationality in many schools are boycotting lessons, there are work stoppages in a number of factories, and that "the situation is worsened by the fact that members of the League of Communists (LC) continue to return their membership cards."

The announcer adds that "according to reports from Suva Reka, it appears that trade unionists there are also threatening to resign from their unions unless measures are adopted to normalize the situation in the province," although there is no indication as to the nationality of the workers concerned.

The announcer continues: "The situation today was also exacerbated by a rally of 1,500 Pristina University students, who insisted on speaking to Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly. The gathering was peaceful and the demonstrators marched with two fingers raised in the victory sign, demanding a democratic dialogue and the lifting of emergency measures in the province. Jusuf Zejnulahu addressed the students and called on them to form a delegation, with which talks would be held. The students agreed to appoint five students from each faculty as members of a delegation. Some students threatened that they would not return to their classes tomorrow because of the state of emergency. The students reiterated that the democratic process in Kosovo is not directed against Yugoslavia and has nothing to do with separatist ideas.

"Following their talks with Zejnulahu and other leaders, the students informed their colleagues about the talks, insisting that they would stick to their demands and would wait for an answer by 1000 tomorrow."

A bloc of federal and republican news is followed again by a 16- minute bloc of news and telephone reports on the situation in various Kosovo communities. A telephone report from Podujevo says that "the situation is grave and dramatic" due to the population's anger at the beating of innocent citizens by the militia. The reporter mentions a number of schools that are not functioning due to a boycott by students of Albanian nationality. The reporter also mentions a work stoppage in a local factory, where workers have been complaining about harassment by the militia on their way to and from work. The reporter adds: "Official institutions and other community services are also not functioning today and life is paralyzed." The reporter concludes by saying that 32 members of the LC organization in a local school have returned their party cards.

A report from Suva Reka says that "although the situation in working collectives is gradually returning to normal, the same cannot be said about the education system," going on to mention a number of primary and secondary schools where Albanian pupils are boycotting lessons. Serb workers have threatened to leave their union unless measures are adopted to stabilize the situation in the province. The report ends by stating that 420 Albanian citizens have relinquished their LC membership.

This is followed by a indistinct report from Urosevac, which mentions school boycotts and the signing of a

petition by Albanian nationality citizens protesting against abuses by the militia.

Similar reports also cover the situation in Vucitrn and Titova Mitrovica, mentioning school boycotts, work stoppages, and, in Mitrovica, the resignation of 800 LC members.

A report from Pristina mentions only some school boycotts.

This bloc of reports is followed by a three-minute Radio Pristina commentary stating that the situation is harming the province's economy, blaming Albanian nationalists for trying to sabotage the planned economic reforms and urging everyone to return to work, concluding with an appeal for tolerance and understanding by all concerned.

Titova Mitrovica Students March

LD1602113690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0957 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—Over 500 students of Technical School Boris Kidric marched this morning through the town of Titova Mitrovica, in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, with hands raised in a "V" sign. They proceeded towards the grammar school with the intention of inviting grammar school students to join them and stop the classes.

The police did not intervene.

At present the town is calm.

Representatives of communal authorities are now in the grammar school talking to students.

Petition Demands Albanians' Expulsion

LD1402222890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—We call for the revision of each individual document which granted citizenship to those Albanians who have fled Albania since 15 May 1945 and for unconditional expulsion of all those who still hold Albanian citizenship. This is stated in a petition to be submitted to the assemblies of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

The initiative to collect signatures was set in motion by the "Popular Democratic Alternative" of Novi Sad in cooperation with the Vojvodina youth organization following a public meeting which took place in Novi Sad on 8 February under the slogan "Kosovo, its defence or its last days?"

Signing of the petition is underway and according to a report issued today about 1,000 people have already signed it. The collection of signatures should end on 6 May.

The petition, according to this newly created party, was prompted by "the civil war in Kosovo, the existence of artificial unemployment resulting from uncontrolled inflow of Albanian refugees, separatism, genocidal repression against the Serbian nation and the non-Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija, and aggression against Yugoslavia."

The signatories of the petition are calling on the SFRY Assembly, acting in an emergency procedure and with unreserved observance and application of international legal norms, to pass a law "declaring persona non grata all those persons who were allowed to settle on SFRY territory, in Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro during the war years and following the occupation of Yugoslav territories in 1941."

Government Officials on Events

LD1302233390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 13 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav Government Aleksandar Mitrovic and General Secretary of the Yugoslav Government Zoran Miskovic, who visited Kosovo today, confirmed in a talk to reporters here the determination of the state to counter any forms of separatism and terrorism in the country using all means available under the constitution and laws.

Mitrovic also said that the larger-scale unrest in Kosovo were no surprise for the federal government. He said that the goal of Albanian chauvinists and separatists was to provoke an armed conflict, which was duly prevented. Mitrovic said that separatists from Kosovo, extremist Albanian emigration abroad, together with a certain influence from Albania and some other intelligence circles, were involved in the organization of the recent two-week unrest in Kosovo.

Expressing regret that people were killed in the demonstrations, Mitrovic said that every individual case would be investigated separately and that the public would be informed about it.

According to Mitrovic, a way out of the current situation in the country and in Kosovo is primarily in implementing the adopted social reform. Mitrovic indicated also the need of great activities towards settling the entire situation in the province and improving the very cooled inter-ethnic relations and the bad economic situation. He also said that, in political activities in the province, a distinction must be made between those Albanians who are for Yugoslav socialism and the separatists.

Mitrovic today visited the members of the united federal police unit in Kosovo and paid tribute to them for

successfully curbing the hostile and separatist demonstrations in Kosovo. Expressing regret that 26 demonstrators were killed, Mitrovic pointed out that no mention was made of the many slugs found in bullet-proof vests of th· ·olice.

Yugoslav Government General Secretary Miskovic underscored that the federal government and respective organs of authority would secure the implementation of all laws and conclusions of federal parliament and make room for implementing the reform and establishing a democratic dialogue, both within the limits of determined political 'rules of the game.' This will also be provided in Kosovo, Miskovic underscored. He pointed out that the federal government would act duly in preserving the integrity of the country.

Presidency Member Bogicevic Remarks

AU1402133890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Feb 90 p 5

¡Report on interview with Bogic Bogicevic, member of tne SFRY Presidency, by Zdravko Huber; place and date not given: "The State Goes On"]

[Excerpts] As long as the present situation remains, repressive measures in Kosovo are unavoidable, but they are not a long-term solution to the accumulated contradictions and problems in this province. It is necessary to immediately create conditions for starting the broadest possible negotiations and dialogue with all democratic political groups and alliances on the already well-known platforms of the indivisibility of the state sovereignty of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia and full protection and the integrity of every individual, citizen, and all our peoples and nationalities. The acceptance of political pluralism has laid the foundations for a broad political dialogue. This has created the obligation to hold talks with the exponents of all political groups in Kosovo on the above-mentioned constitutional, political, and the broadest possible Yugoslav platforms.

This is how Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, assessed the situation in Kosovo during his interview with BORBA. [passage omitted]

[Huber] Life in Kosovo is becoming increasingly difficult; mistrust among people is growing all the time.

[Bogicevic] However worrying the political, that is, the political-security situation may be, the prospects for improving the social situation are even gloomier. How should the problems of increasing unemployment, the high birth rate, pressure, and dissatisfaction be resolved in Kosovo? Kosovo is characterized by numerous negative trends: political, economic, social, demographic, interethnic, civilizational-cultural, international, and the lack of the Albanian's population integrity in Yugoslavia's economic, social, and cultural life. All these contradictions have resulted in a deep crack in the trust between the Albanian and non-Albanian population. This is why I think that it is necessary to concentrate our activities toward creating ordinary, humane, and neighborly trust. The state must protect those who are threatened, but I am worried about the scars left on the faces and in the memory of young people of all nationalities. [passage omitted]

[Huber] Regardless of its inglorious end, the last congress heard some new ideas outside the traditional communist repertoire. Could they be the values for the future renewed organization of the Yugoslav Communists?

[Bogicevic] Regardless of the indeed major implications of the adjournment of the 14th congress for Yugoslavia's internal and external global political relations, the delegates continue to support the political, economic, and constitutional reforms, the market economy, the de-ideologization of the legal system, and greater respect for human rights and freedoms. Is this basically not a program of the Federal Executive Council?

The important decision of the 14th congress is the delegates' unanimous adoption of the initiative that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be dropped from the SFRY Constitution and that it relinquishes its leading, monopoly position in society. [passage omitted]

[Huber] New political organizations are already on the political scene. Do the present holders of political power have a strategy for how to receive new partners in exercising power? There are some theses according to which monopoly forces are now ready to impose pluralism just as they, at the time, imposed self-management so that the real mechanisms of power remain in their hands.

[Bogicevic] I would not agree that the present exponents of "political power" have some kind of a "plot against pluralism." Of course, by saying this I am not denying the fact that some sections of the "official structure" are under the illusion that certain palliative methods, tactical moves (such as elections according to the old rules and so forth) can postpone this inevitable process for some time. I would be more inclined to view all key moves presently made toward introducing pluralism in Yugoslavia in a wider European, world context, in the context of searching for a way out of the crisis in which our society has found itself. [passage omitted]

[Huber] The last assembly discussion on Kosovo was some kind of discussion about confidence in the SFRY Presidency. The discussion amounted to a kind of transfer of the familiar political tensions into the assembly hall. How do you assess the outcome of this discussion?

[Bogicevic] The SFRY Presidency is responsible for promoting and protecting joint life in Yugoslavia, for Yugoslavia's integrity, sovereignty, independence, and the constitutional order.

In this sense the SFRY Presidency was never hesitant or disunited regarding the recent events in Kosovo. When the responsible organs in the Federation assessed that

additional measures should be introduced, including the exercise activities of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Presidency was unanimous in saying yes. Of course, by saying this I do not want to defend the SFRY Presidency from the criticism by some delegates that were heard during the two- day session of the SFRY Assembly, nor do I think that the Presidency should be protected from criticism, especially when it is justified, well-argued, constructive, and responsible.

However, one must not forget that some measures of the Presidency were in effect in Kosovo even before the latest events. These also included the ban on gathering with the purpose of demonstrating. Why were these measures not respected? On the one hand people are calling the SFRY Presidency to account, while on the other they are extending support to their own republican and provincial leaderships for the policy that they conduct. So, it is in fact Kosovo that is the main cause of the sharp interrepublican clashes, that is to say, the clashes between the leaderships. [passage omitted]

Former Kosovo LC Member Arifi Acquitted

LD1502000390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Gnjilane, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—The five-man bench of the district court in Gnjilane, over which Judge Imer Hruglica presides, today acquitted Ekrem Arifi, former member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, who was charged with the criminal act of inciting national, racial, and religious hatred, divisions, and intolerance under Article 134 of the SFRY Penal Code.

The verdict states that Arifi is acquitted owing to a lack of evidence, because, according to the bench, the charges cited in the indictment had not been confirmed during the 10-day trial. It should be said, however, that 10 witnesses confirmed the charges during the course of the trial's proceedings.

The courtroom was too small to contain all those interested in hearing the outcome of the trial and the reading of the verdict. After Ekrem Afrifi left the court, numerous citizens of Albanian nationality welcomed him enthusiastically and with applause.

Bosnian Party Body Expels 7 Former Officials

AU1502204390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] We have just received the text of the announcement issued at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina session. The Central Committee has decided to expel seven former Bosnia-Hercegovina officials because of their participation in the Neum affair. They are the following: Milanko Renovica, Savo Cecur, Hrvoje Istuk, Kazimir Jelcic, Avdo Campara, Jerko Bradvica, and Alija Latif. The following have been reprimanded: Nikola Stojanovic, Mato Andric, Izet Brkovic, and Nedeljko Mandic.

Views Post-Congress Activity

AU1502204490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina today adopted stances on the activity of the Communists of this republic in the wake of the adjournment of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. As we have just informed you, the report on the Neum affair has been adopted. Ljubomir Nikolic reports from Sarajevo on the work of the session:

[Nikolic] It is said in the stances of the Central Committee about which a grassroots debate should be held, that the 14th congress should be continued only if all parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia take part in it. The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the document says further, is against democratic centralism, is in favor of a federal Yugoslavia and of Bosnia- Hercegovina as a permanent, sovereign, and indivisible common state of equal citizens and peoples and nationalities living in it. We resolutely oppose the formation of autonomous provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina and any other divisions on a national basis, it is said in the stances. We shall support the establishment of permanent peace in Kosovo, a quicker development of Kosovo and Yugoslav aid to it, the citizens' personal security and the security of their property, the efficient functioning of the law-governed state, democratic solutions to problems as an indispensable condition of equality and joint life of all citizens and peoples and nationalities.

In case the 14th Congress is not continued by the end of April, the 10th republican congress will be convened in order to adopt documents on the activity of the League of Communists under new conditions and to make the decision on changing the name into the Democratic League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Until the beginning of this program, the debate has not ended on the Neum affair, that is on the party punishments for 11 former Bosnia-Hercegovina officials. It was proposed that seven of them be expelled from the League of Communists and four be reprimanded.

Montenegrin Presidency Member Leaves LC

AU1402130590

[Editorial Report] Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 February carries on page 3 a 1,200-word letter by Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, in which he explains why he left the League of Communists [LC]. Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 9 February carries on page 5 a 1,600-word report by Sl.V. entitled

" 'Timed' Decision" on the announcement issued by the Communal Committee of the Titograd LC in reaction to Stankovic's letter.

At the beginning of his letter, Ljubisa Stankovic says the following:

"I am informing the public that I do not want to be a member of the LC of Yugoslavia and that I am leaving it, but, I must say, I am not a member of any other party and I do not want to be at this moment." He goes on to say that he was a delegate to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia and that he agrees that "the congress should be continued under conditions that would enable the party organization to be united throughout the entire territory of Yugoslavia which should be socialist, democratic, and federal. I think that the future does not lie in a league of leagues, so I did not vote in favor of that proposal at the Congress."

"The direct cause for my leaving the LC, although there have been other reasons over a long period, is the session of the Titograd LC Communal Committee," Stankovic says. He adds the following: "Intolerance and a lack of readiness to discuss any different views or the possibility of transforming the LC such as it is now became obvious at that session. Almost the only reply to all views expressed so far has been to tell those people who disagree with the present situation that they should leave the LC. I am doing exactly that now."

Later in his letter, Stankovic says that "it is obvious that a process that is well known to me of misinforming the public and spreading rumors has been started with a view to discrediting me personally. This was done last year as well, but, it seems to me, in a milder form and less professionally than now. I can only guess the reasons for that. That may be due to my advocating free and open thinking and talking about everything within and outside the LC, or perhaps because of my radical thoughts about the need for the LC to be transformed into a modern party, or perhaps because I refused to leave the roundtable and join the meeting on 10 January, or maybe because I clearly want Montenegro to be a republic equal to others in Federal Yugoslavia, or maybe because I support the program of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], or maybe....

"It seems to me that my participation in the work of the Democratic Forum is deliberately misinterpreted. It is obvious that many people refuse to understand that I agreed to work at the Forum only after the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro, which I was a member of until now, decided to participate in its work and proposed its representatives. When participating in the Forum's work I did not do anything which would be at variance with the stances of the bodies and documents of the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Montenegro."

The following passage is printed by POBJEDA in boldface and is carried boxed within the body of the letter:

"There is also much manipulation of and misinformation about the way I voted at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia. I voted on my own behalf and did so in conformity with the views that I had publicly presented in many speeches and interviews, and I believe that I was elected a delegate to the Congress on the basis of these statements. On that occasion and in the future I shall always vote independently and in the way I deem the best for this people and this country. I really did not know that there were some people at the Congress who were 'following' the way I voted, because had I known that, I would not have agreed to attend the Congress.

"As regards my views about a multiparty system, free elections, and a new constitution, as well as about other ones I voiced at the roundtable conference, I am glad that they will be legalized by the new package of amendments that the FEC has been preparing. It is really fortunate that we have such a government at this moment, although a 'differentiation' of the people supporting the government's program was all but carried out in Montenegro."

At the beginning of the BORBA report on the Titograd LC Communal Committee statement, Sl.V. cites the statement as saying the following:

"The Titograd LC Communal Committee is addressing the LC grassroots and the public on the occasion of the statement made by Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. We are doing so because he said that the 3 February session of the Titograd LC Communal Committee was a direct cause of his leaving the LC and because of the assertions he had made in that statement."

Later on, it is said in the statement that "everything would have been clear had Stankovic openly said that he, together with a small number of other delegates, had voted at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia in favor of the LC of Yugoslavia being divided into two parties. The Titograd LC Communal Committee is of the opinion that differences between opinions and views, as well as a broad expression of members' will and initiatives, are real prerequisites for creating stands in a democratic way and are elementary conditions for an efficient and consistent realization of adopted political decisions. We can understand, but by no means accept, or much less call it a politically honest attitude when a personal stand on such an important issue—whoever the person may be—is presented at the highest meeting of Yugoslav Communists in the way that Stankovic has. This is primarily because this issue is not at all mentioned in the tenets of the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Montenegro, nor was it meanwhile established or even touched upon among the broadest Montenegrin LC membership."

At the end of the report the statement is cited as having said the following:

"At the above-mentioned session, just as it has always done so far, the Titograd LC Communal Committee has voiced its views about the most important questions concerning the LC of Yugoslavia and society. It spoke in favor of the continuation of the Congress, against the 'league of leagues' and in favor of a united LC of Yugoslavia, in favor of Yugoslavia as a socialist, democratic, and federal community, in favor of Montenegro being a republic equal with the others, in favor of the FEC's program, in favor of a multiparty system, in favor of free elections, and in favor of adopting a new constitution, therefore the reason for including these orientations among the reasons for leaving the LC is unclear."

Serbia Voices Support for Constitutional Change

LD1502152290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today upheld a proposal by the Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic for changes in the federal Constitution.

The Serbian Government, however, rejected changes proposed by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, especially those to the effect that the Yugoslav state become a confederation.

The government proposal was today also approved by the constitutional committee of the Assembly of Kosovo, the province within the Republic of Serbia.

Under the existing Constitution enacted in 1974, constitutional changes must be approved by all Yugoslav federal units.

This is the second time this year that the republics and the provinces are declaring themselves on constitutional changes.

In early January, the government tied its economic programme to a proposal for constitutional changes. The proposal was not adopted due to its rejection by the Slovenian Parliament. The government then came out with a new proposal, and the assemblies of Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina submitted their own proposals.

LC Gets Ready for Multiparty System

LD1402182890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 14 Feb 90

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—The membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is getting ready for a multi-party system which has practically become a part of the country's political life although constitutional amendments and a special law on political organizations have not yet been passed.

Party cells in many enterprises across the country have recently "disbanded themselves". The motive was the membership's wish to give equal chances to the League of Communists [LC] and the other 90 parties which have recently been founded. This means that the LC will no longer have a say in the economy, state organs and judicature.

It seems that the most delicate task (?will) be to depoliticalize and deideologize the Yugoslav People's Army, the security forces and the police.

The LCY statute does not envisage voluntary disbandment of party cells and abandonment of state organs and enterprises. Thus, many party officials still act as if nothing has happened. Maybe the new law on political organizations, a draft on which has already been submitted to parliament, will teach them the rules of the multi-party system game.

In this situation LCY leaderships are bound, especially after the events at the special 14th congress, to devote their attention to the increasingly frequent voluntary disbandments of party organizations in enterprises in order to prevent the occurence of the League of Communists going one way and life the other.

Session of LCY Committee in Army Reported

LD1402185290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—The outcome of the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress came as no surprise to us. We saw the possibility of this happening after the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC [League of Communists], Petar Simic, president of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], said today at a committee session.

Our predictions were based on the fact that throughout the entire period following the First LCY Conference no success was made in overcoming major differences to be found in the concepts of how to carry out social reforms and to transform the LCY.

The system at work in the country over the last 15 or so years has allowed the republics and provinces to develop and consolidate their narrow, national interests with their representatives evolving into bureaucratized leading elites who tended to neglect the interests of the whole for the benefit of particular interests. In an increasingly serious economic crisis, conflicts of interests penetrated the LCY, i.e. the ruling political force, producing negative effects on not just the economic but also ideological and political spheres. The combination of all these factors served to reduce the country's defense potentials which we, in the YPA, started to feel with increasing intensity from year to year, Simic said.

The united support for reforms proclaimed at the First LCY Conference remained in words only. In reality

concepts began to be promoted with differences of unbridgeable proportions which became the hallmark of many debates which took place within the institutions of the socio-political system and increasingly frequently outside it. This became obvious at sessions of the LCY Central Committee which gradually turned into a rostrum for the showdown between advocates of one or the other concept and for futile attempts to overcome the differences in a sensible, democratic way and to harmonize possible solutions in the interests of the whole.

In these conflicts many went so far as to avail themselves of the sevices of the champions of so-called "national programs," in other words they began to flirt with the forces with nationalist orientations. No means were spared in these conflicts which gradually filtered through, beyond the system's institutions. In the meantime, the quality of debates in the institutions continued to deteriorate until they were transformed into threats, intolerance, exclusiveness, blockades, and faits accomplis. Immediate damage became obvious on both domestic and international scenes, affected our economic and financial situation as well as the ideological and political developments, and resulted in Yugoslavia, as a whole, losing its national reputation.

Thus the assorted opponents of the LCY were given a chance and they did not miss it, Simic said. The international situation and the offensive of the anticommunists are placing, it into an increasingly clear context. I hope it will not sound immodest when I say that the voice of warning was heard quite clearly from the platform of this very committee and from many public statements by the Communists in the YPA. Although they sometimes appeared to be futile cries of despair, it is a fact that the reason and logic of Yugoslav integration factors, as time went on and through existing conflicts, paved their way painstakingly and slowly but inevitably pointing out the possibility of a way out and the necessary involvement to establish appropriate conditions.

The preceding congresses and conferences of parts of the LCY provided an opportunity for the establishment of "one's own" stances which were then taken to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress as an ultimatum, or as an imperative stance regardless of the stances of others. The tactics of the implementation of these stances were also worked out, Petar Simic said, the division of the roles in this "scenario" was carried out, the potential people who thought alike were recruited, and "their own" public was worked on. As the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress approached the differences became more exacerbated both on the issue as to what kind of LCY is required and on the issue of the future of Yugoslavia. However, the congress was unable to resolve this problem.

It follows therefore that when the general and specific circumstances of the overall congress preparations are examined in depth its outcome has to be assumed as a logical consequence. Herein lies the responsibility of all factors of influence and not only of the leadership of the LC of Slovenia and of the delegates of the LC of Slovenia who bear the actual responsibility for the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, was how Petar Simic evaluated it.

Speaking of the feelings and views of LCY members in the YPA following the adjournment of the proceedings of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, Petar Simic stressed that the majority thought the congress had been inadequately prepared, especially from the viewpoint of a uniform approach to the basic issues. For this reason they believe that the basic conditions for the successful outcome of the congress were not fulfilled.

The LC of Slovenia is taken to task sharply because of its ultimatum-like attitude toward the congress and its lack of readiness to accept the majority's stance.

LCY members in the YPA, Simic said, do not accept the LCY's fragmentation into several parties, or the LCY's transformation into a social democratic party with a name change. They also express concern over the stances of the leadership of the LC of Croatia, and especially over the possibility of division in the LC on a nationality basis, and demand that by the time the congress resumes points of contact should be identified and reciprocal demands be considered as soon as possible in the interest of the country and of the LCY.

There is also the fear that the failure of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress will have wider negative consequences for the stability of the country (Kosovo, the processes launched by the Federal Executive Council [FEC], assembly work on constitutional amendments, etc.)

The consolidation of the situation, Simic said, is proceeding with much greater difficulty than we expected. It is a fact that the LCY does not operate as a whole and that confusion, and to some extent paralysis, too, and processes of division on the nationality basis, are emerging in its ranks. The situation requires urgent measures to prevent further erosion and for order to be introduced into LCY ranks especially since anticommunism is on the offensive.

We can be satisfied with the overall state of LCY organization in the YPA, but we cannot be complacent in view of the general situation in our society and in the LCY, was his assessment.

What has the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress shown, and what are its essential lessons?

A realistic and comprehensive analysis of the incomplete congress still has to be carried out. There is no doubt, Simic remarked, that it has been a heavy body blow against the LCY with consequences which are still unforeseeable, although some consequences—very specific and negative—are developing before our very eyes and are now seen in membership dropout, disbanding, or breakup of some LCY organizations, and loss of the LCY's action capability, national reputation, and integrative power.

However, Petar Simic stressed, although the congress demonstrated a number of shortcomings, it did make it possible to seriously identify the need for changes, changing the method of work and for the establishment of relations which will move in the direction of possible points of contact, new program foundations, and unity based upon these foundations.

Realistic conditions and the adjournment of the congress serve as a warning and a reminder, Simic pointed out. No doubt the first lesson is that the congress must be well prepared and resumed, but not in the old way. The decisions of a strategic nature must not be adopted through the voting papers but must be defined and agreed on previously to the point of consensus. Majority decisionmaking in a multinational structure is a threat to the equality of nations and nationalities, especially so in our current conditions, in which our sociopolitical system goes hand in hand with the provisions of our Constitution, and our social and political relations, encouraged by militant nationalistic groups and parties, are a threat to elementary stability.

In addition, he said, the decision to suspend the congress is an expression of disunity in the LCY, and he also reiterated the rule that the LCY's weakening will inevitably be accompanied by the appearence on the scene of retrograde forces. Albanian national separatists instigated demonstrations and rebellion in Kosovo in the belief that the time has come to make new moves in fulfilling their radical goals. At the same time attacks on everything Yugoslav, socialist, and communist have intensified. Many hastened to announce the LCY's end.

This atmosphere was exacerbated by the conclusions adopted by the First Conference of Slovene LC on 4 February 1990 which state the following in point one:

"As far as the Slovene LC is concerned, the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has ended. The LCY, in the form it existed prior to the congress, has ceased to exist. Its organs, the Slovene LC's material obligations toward it, and individual membership in it have also ended. The LC of Slovenia will henceforth function as an independent political organization with its own members, program, and statute."

In other words, Simic said, we no longer exist because those who have left our ranks say so. There is no LCY, its organs no longer exist, and there are no Slovene Communists who do not want to be a part of a confederation or to abide by what is in their electoral program, in which socialism is not mentioned at all. Had this not been so sad it would have been a good joke, Simic noted.

The LCY still exists. It is going through difficult times but it nevertheless still exists, as does its 70-year-long rich history and the victories which, with the working people and Tito at the head, it won in both peacetime and in war. It has reason to continue to exist, and this reason lies with both the working people of this country and also with those who wish to bury it. For the former it will continue to do a service, and for the latter it will be an obstacle to their efforts to bury all that has been achieved at a high price in the recent history of our nations and nationalities, Petar Simic said.

If there is a need for changes and for our more efficient response to the challenges of the present time—we failed to do this at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress—we must ask the working class what kind of LCY they need. We must do this before the congress is resumed.

These are the reasons which prompted members of the LCY Organization in the YPA to set in motion an initiative for the LCY Central Committee directly, i.e. through a referendum, to approach the LCY membership and ask for its views on issues of vital importance for its future: on the character of the organization and the principle of relations within it. In our view, the outcome of the referendum would help considerably in our efforts to resume and complete successfully the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, Petar Simic said.

A rich and constructive discussion supported the stand of the Communists in the YPA about the break-off of the 14th extraordinary LCY congress, which Admiral Petar Simic, president of the LCY committee in the YPA, propounded in the introductory report. However, a few amendments were proposed. The main demand of the members of the LCY committee in the YPA is that the congress must continue, and, moreover, be attended by all parts of the LCY. The congress must continue, it was concluded, even if delegates of some republican or provincial organizations do not attend it.

In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out that delegates of the Slovene League of Communists may not come, but the question of whether the League of Communists of that republic is still a part of the LCY at all, was raised.

Petar Simic drew attention to the stance of the Slovene League of Communists conference according to which the Slovene LC has become a separate, as they put it, "party of democratic renewal" and is not any longer a party of the LCY. Hence, it should not be expected that its delegates will attend the congress. However, he said, there are Communists in Slovenia who do not want to belong to this new organization and they have already been contacting the LCY leadership. These people must be helped, Simic said, and proposed that the LCY organization in the YPA suggest that the LCY Central Committee Presidium assist their organization, since they are the only legitimate descendants of the League of Communists in Slovenia.

It was also noted that it could happen that some others, apart from Slovenes, will not come to the congress. Therefore, support was voiced for the initiative of the Communists in the YPA in suggesting that prior to the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress party members make known through a referendum their views about what kind of LCY and Yugoslavia they want. With such a stance, it was said, we should proceed to the continuation of the congress.

Proposals were put forward that new delegates should be elected, since the present ones have proved to be incapable of contributing toward cohesion in the LCY.

It was noted in the course of the discussion that the League of Communists must draw up a new program adapted to new conditions of political pluralism and on whose basis unity in action and ideology will be built up. The Communists in the Army hold that the program should be grounded in the socialist and federal order of Yugoslavia. We should present such a concept, Milenko Andjelic noted, to the public prior to the forthcoming elections.

Vukota Popovic said that the LCY must define its attitude towards new political parties much more realistically, because not all newly formed political parties can be condemned and rejected out of hand. According to him, the main criterion should be Yugoslav orientation.

In order to resume the work of the aborted 14th congress and promote modernization of the LCY Bozidar Grubisic proposed that only a single strategic document be adopted at the continuation of the congress. The rest should be at the level of congress decisions. In that way, Grubisic judged, the work will be simplified to the maximum degree and the outstanding differences overcome more easily.

The session of the LCY committee in the YPA drew special attention to the necessity of defining interparty relations in more contemporary terms. Significant issues of equality within the LCY should be decided by consensus, it was judged, and all other issues by majority vote. Some were of the opinion that the discussions about democratic centralism and what it will be called are still superficial and not well articulated, because, as Nebojsa Tica noted, it is quite normal in each party that decisions should be carried through; this is the most basic rule in having a party.

Milenko Andjelic pointed out that in modern political trends and party discussion, the position of Communists in the Army is a most delicate one, because, he said, the Army belongs to the people, that is, everyone living in this country. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze very seriously and thoroughly the trends within and the future of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Everything said today at the session of the LCY committee in the YPA regarding the break-off of the 14th Extraordinary LCY congress will be shaped by a working group and the committee Presidium. This will comprise the stand of the Communists in the YPA about the situation arising after the break-off of the congress and will be presented to the Yugoslav public in two to three days.

Parliament Body on Death Sentence Abolishment

LD1402003090 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 13 (TANJUG)—Members of the Judicial Committee of Yugoslav Parliament today supported an initiative to abolish the death sentence.

Delegates of the Yugoslav Republic Slovenia asked that current work on the special part of the penal code already include such changes—that the death sentence be either abolished or be applicable only to crimes committed in wartime or under direct threat of war.

It was decided, however, that, since the abolishment of the death sentence requires a revision of the entire system of the penal code, the matter be regulated by the general part of the law which will be put on discussion this year.

Slovenian delegates argued that the abolishment of the death sentence in their republic's law did not cause the number of grave crimes to increase. The situation is not the same in all parts of the country, a delegate from another republic replied.